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An Analysis of the Stationers' Company Register

By

Alexandra Hill

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Abbreviations

Ar. I, II, III or IV	*A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640,* ed. Edward Arber, Vols. I–IV (London: Privately Printed, 1875–77)
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*
EBBA	*English Broadside Ballad Archive* <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/>
EEBO	*Early English Books On-Line* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>
ESTC	*English Short Title Catalogue* <http://estc.bl.uk/>
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>
USTC	*Universal Short Title Catalogue* <http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php>

Quotations and titles entered in the Stationers' Register appear as originally written or transcribed. The only standardisation is in 'v' to 'u' and 'i' to 'j'. During the period 1557 to 1640, the New Year in England started on 25 March. For convention and consistency in this study, I have the New Year starting on 1 January.

Introduction: Print Culture and the Stationers' Company

On 2 September 1666, a fire began in Pudding Lane in the City of London. Less than forty-eight hours later, the Great Fire was spreading through the Stationers' district around St Paul's Cathedral, incinerating everything in its path. In his diary, John Evelyn wrote about the destruction of the Cathedral and how:

> the ruins of the vaulted roof falling, broke into St Faith's, which, being filled with the magazines of books belonging to the Stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consumed, burning for a week following.[1]

Many legends surround the Great Fire and the items saved by the city's inhabitants. Famously, for Samuel Pepys, this was his parmesan cheese and wine which he buried in his garden.[2] Fortunately for historians of early modern print in England, for clerk George Tokefield, this was the documents of the Stationers' Company.[3] While £200,000 worth of books in the Company's warehouses and Hall were lost to the flames, thanks to the foresight of one man, the records of the Stationers' Company lived to tell their tale.[4]

It was not just major disasters that led to the destruction of books. Factors such as use, format, content and author all played a part, as well as the changing tastes of the audience. As contemporary Walter Vaughan wrote of his own works:

> As there is nothing comprehended in [the books] worthy of immortality ... so I am sure there is no great harme in them, wherby Apothecaries or Fishmongers should challenge them for waste leaves to wrap about their

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1 *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S., Author of the 'Sylva'. To Which is Subjoined the Private Correspondence Between King Charles I and Sir Edward Nicholas, and Between Sir Edward Hyde, Afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Richard Browne Volume II*, ed. William Bray (London: Henry Colburn, 1850), p. 13.

2 *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A Selection*, ed. Robert Latham (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 664.

3 Robin Myers, *The Archive of the Stationers' Company, 1554–1984: An Account of the Records* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), p. 335.

4 Charles Henry Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing, with the Progress of Literature, Ancient and Modern* (London: H. Johnson, 1839), p. 543.

drugges and Macarelles, *pipere & scombris digna* [*pepper and mackerel worthy*].[5]

Cheap works that were widely disseminated or poorly made were less likely to survive compared to the expensive works locked away in private libraries.[6] This was also true for ephemeral print which, unless collected soon after printing, would be destroyed. The question is, without a surviving copy, how can we gain a clearer idea of those lost books too often deemed only 'pepper and mackerel worthy'?

This work is the first attempt to analyse systematically the entries relating to lost books in the Stationers' Company Register. Book production in England was centred on London and largely undertaken by the members of the Stationers' Company working with a limited number of presses. As a result, the Stationers' Company Register contains almost all the books authorised to be printed in London during the Elizabethan, Jacobean and early Caroline periods, though as we shall see, there were some exceptions. The period from the introduction of the Charter in 1557 to the break in the Company's control of printing in the 1640s represents an understudied area of the book trade. After one hundred years of the printing press in Europe, print was a more secure business, with printers focused on expanding the market in order to compete. The Stationers' Register is a remarkable, underused resource which can reveal much about book production and the book trade, not least as this relates to issues of survival and loss (Figure 0.1).

Work on early modern print is, understandably, dominated by analysis of surviving books. However, by correlating entries in the Stationers' Company Register with data on extant copies in the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC), a list can be created of books printed but no longer traceable to an existing copy. Not only does the Register provide new data on the titles available, showing the works on which printers were willing to risk time, capital and resources, even if they are no longer extant; it also reveals the sheer variety of books being printed as, for many of the more ephemeral works, the Register is often the only indication that a book was printed at all. Without understanding what is lost, it is very difficult to understand the full scale and function of printing in the early modern book world.

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5   William Vaughan, *The arraignment of slander perjury blasphemy, and other malicious sinnes shewing sundry examples of Gods judgements against the ofenders. As well by the testimony of the scriptures, and of the fathers of the primative church as likewise out of the reports of Sir Edward Dier, Sir Edward Coke, and other famous lawiers of this kingdome* (London: for Francis Constable, 1630), p. 112, EEBO. (USTC 3014990).

6   Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 333.
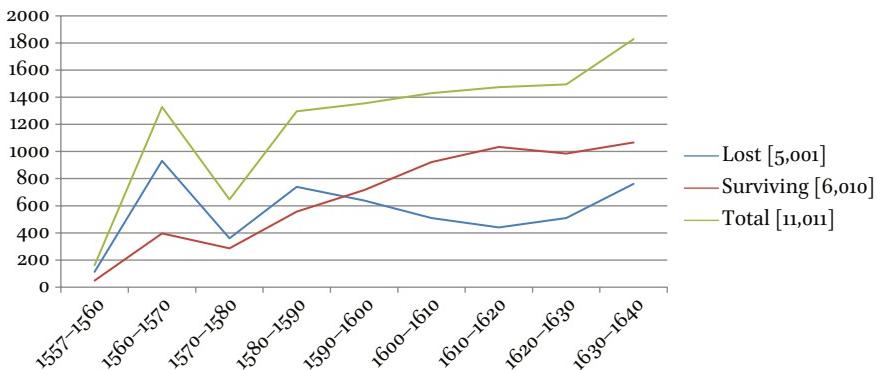
FIGURE 0.1 *Total number of entries made in the Stationers' Company Register with a comparison of lost and surviving items, 1557–1640. See corresponding figure in Colour Section.*

The study of lost books is useful not just for historians of print but for researchers looking more widely at the early modern world. Books played a fundamental role in early modern society and are key sources for our understanding of the political, religious, economic and cultural aspects of the age. Other researchers who have worked on the recovery of lost books have already commented on the inaccuracies caused by considering only 'the books that we have, rather than the books that they had'.[7] The extremely high rate of loss for ephemeral print in particular has a large impact on our knowledge of both the book trade and on wider access and use of print. Collecting practices have also led to the over-representation of certain authors and genres. Ultimately, I hope my study of lost works will encourage researchers to think more carefully about why certain historical sources survive and to consider the impact survival and collecting practices have on our understanding and interpretation of the past.

Print Culture in Early Modern England

Interest in the history of books and printing has created a long and varied literature over the centuries; from the bibliographers of the late-nineteenth century to the modern-day historians of print culture. Print culture is a difficult term to define, encompassing book production, censorship and the

7   Edward Jacobs and Antonia Forster, '"Lost Books" and Publishing History: Two Annotated Lists of Imprints for the Fiction Titles Listed in the Circulating Library Catalogs of Thomas Lowndes (1766) and M. Heavisides (1790), of Which No Known Copies Survive', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 89.3 (1995), p. 270.

impact of print on society.[8] Nevertheless, an understanding of access to books and the use of print within England is vital in highlighting the importance of tracing lost books.

Elizabeth Eisenstein argued for a revolutionary view of the role of print and book production believing that it fundamentally changed the culture and communication of ideas during the period.[9] This is now in need of qualification, with Andrew Pettegree emphasising the innate conservatism of printers in the first age of print and the struggles they faced in creating a commercially viable print business.[10] For the majority of those working within the book industry, the focus was on economic rather than ideological considerations, with James Raven citing the importance of profit and the need for capital when publishing and printing books.[11]

Despite the fact that the majority of bookshops and bookstalls were centred on London, books were sold across England.[12] Imprints and bookseller stock lists show editions being printed for provincial bookshops in places like York and Norwich, as well as for the Welsh market.[13] Unlike Wales, Ireland had its own privileged stationer based in Dublin who had the sole right to print and sell books.[14] Scotland, meanwhile, was separate from England and the Stationers' Company monopoly for most of the period; even after 1603, the focus remained on book selling rather than book production.[15] Print was not

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8   For further discussion see, Jason McElligott and Eve Patten, 'The Perils of Print Culture: An Introduction', in Eve Patten and Jason McElligott (eds.), *The Perils of Print Culture: Book, Print and Publishing History in Theory and Practice* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 1–16.

9   Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

10   Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*.

11   James Raven, 'The Economic Context', in Maureen Bell, John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 4: 1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 568. For a detailed discussion of the early modern book trade in England see James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450–1850* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).

12   Paul Morgan, 'The Provincial Book Trade Before the End of the Licensing Act', in Peter Isaac (ed.), *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), p. 31.

13   F.W. Ratcliffe, 'The Contribution of Book-Trade Studies to Scholarship', in *Ibid.*, p. 1. Jennifer Winters, 'The English Provincial Book Trade: Bookseller Stock-Lists, c.1520–1640', (PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2012).

14   Robert Welch, 'The Book in Ireland from the Tudor Re-Conquest to the Battle of the Boyne', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 703.

15   Jonquil Bevan, 'Scotland', in *Ibid.*, p. 698.

just sold from static locations and both Tessa Watt and Margaret Spufford have written on how cheap print was disseminated all over England by itinerant pedlars and chapmen.[16] England was also part of a wider European book market, with news and ideas going back and forth across the Channel as well as via book fairs and trade routes.[17]

One of the main sources of information for the book in England is the *Short-Title Catalogue* (now on-line as the ESTC). The STC is a bibliography of all the surviving works printed in England, covering libraries from across the United Kingdom and North America. One of the shortcomings of the STC though is that, in common with most bibliographical surveys, it relies almost exclusively on records of surviving copies, as reported by their holding institutions. This corpus cannot be taken as a surrogate for all the books originally printed, though it is all too often that scholars proceed on the basis that this was the case. We have to remember that one of the reasons books have survived is because they were often not particularly intensively used. Books that have survived in collections are therefore not necessarily the most indicative of what buyers of books were actually reading.[18] The best example comes from 1612 when Sir Thomas Bodley received a grant for every book printed by a stationer to go to his library.[19] Not every book, however, was deemed worthy of a place on the shelves. In letters to Thomas James, the first keeper of the Bodleian Library, Sir Thomas was keen to ensure 'idle books, & riffe raffes' did not make it into the library, writing 'I can see no good reason to alter my opinion, for excluding suche bookes, as almanackes, plaies, & an infinit number, that are daily printed, of very unworthy maters & handling'.[20] This would have also excluded ballads and other ephemera.

Over the past decades attention has turned from the larger more monumental works of the sort celebrated by Elizabeth Eisenstein, towards a broader

16   Tessa Watt, 'Publisher, Pedlar, Pot-Poet: The Changing Character of the Broadside Trade', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (ed.), *Spreading the Word* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), p. 68; Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981), p. 125.

17   Joad Raymond, 'Introduction: The Origins of Popular Print Culture', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture Vol.1 Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 10.

18   Andrew Pettegree, 'The Legion of the Lost. Recovering the Lost Books of Early Modern Europe', in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 3.

19   CSPD, James I (1611–1618), p. 120.

20   *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James First Keeper of the Bodleian Library*, ed. G.W. Wheeler, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), p. 219, pp. 221–222.

interest in more ephemeral aspects of the trade. Almanacs had a practical rather than literary value, yet their usefulness meant they became a staple of the book trade, selling in the hundreds of thousands by the 1660s.[21] As H.S. Bennett has said, study of printed works should focus 'not on the literary quality … but rather on the mere fact of their existence'.[22] Entries in the Stationers' Company Register are essential in providing evidence for these books that were printed and used but do not survive in libraries or archives.

While print could be considered more consumer-oriented and legible than manuscript, it certainly had not replaced oral and manuscript means of communication.[23] The continuing influence of oral and manuscript media is demonstrated by the presence of textual devices such as dialogues and prefatory materials addressed to the reader, as well as the presence of both manuscript and printed marginal notes and comments.[24] Adam Fox in his research on early modern England showed that, far from destroying oral culture, print maintained and rejuvenated it.[25] He went on to explain how a number of the contemporary ballads and folk-songs studied by Victorians actually had their origins in sixteenth-century print.[26] This was similar for scientific works and cookery books with recipes disseminated and collected from a mixture of print, manuscript and oral sources.[27]

There were varying levels of literacy in the early modern period. The statistics most often used for England are those of David Cressy who focused on signatures on documents, such as the protestation oath in 1642, to work out literacy rates.[28] Cressy gave the overall literacy rates as 30% for men and 10% for women, suggesting that there were low levels of literacy outside of elite

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21   Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500–1800* (London: Faber, 1979), pp. 23–24.

22   H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640: Being A Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reigns of James I and Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 234.

23   Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 120.

24   D.F. McKenzie, 'Speech-Manuscript-Print', in Peter D. Donald and Michael F. Suarez (eds.), *Making Meaning: 'Printers of the Mind' and Other Essays* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), p. 258.

25   Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 5.

26   *Ibid.*, p. 411.

27   William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 250; Wendy Wall, 'Literacy and the Domestic Arts', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010), p. 387.

28   David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

groups.[29] Studies by R.A. Houston, Margaret Spufford and Adam Fox have presented a more complex picture. Firstly, literacy was highly dependent on region, profession and gender.[30] Women were often able to read even if they had no ability to write, while some members of the lower orders of society could read a simple printed ballad, but not a handwritten document.[31] Secondly, even if only one member of a group or community could read, the content of printed items such as proclamations and ballads could be transmitted orally.[32] Entries in the Stationers' Company Register show print being used not just for entertainment and devotion but also for the spread of news, the teaching of skills, wall coverings, calendars and forms.

Recent studies on literacy, cheap print and the links between orality and print have suggested a greater influence of print in the early modern world than is apparent from surviving works alone. Both Roger Chartier and Peter Burke showed that print was available to a variety of different groups within society.[33] While Latin works were the preserve of elite culture, ballads were read and enjoyed by both elite and popular consumers.[34] Works within individual genres also catered for a range of readers. Medical books might be expensive works in Latin published for a professional market, or vernacular manuals for home use.[35] Even the poorest readers had access to print, with many works being passed around, pasted on walls and made available for reference at large institutions.[36] Recently contributors to *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* have stressed the limits placed on studies of cheap print by low rates of survival.[37] As journalist Stuart Kelly commented in his work on lost books throughout history 'something does not lose its meaning, or its significance, just because it ceases to be'.[38]

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29   *Ibid.*, p. 176.

30   R.A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500–1800* (2nd ed., London: Longman, 2002).

31   Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 29.

32   Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England*, p. 37.

33   Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* (trans. Lydia G. Cochrane) (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 3.

34   Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Ashgate, 1978), p. 28.

35   Mary Fissell, 'Popular Medical Writing', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 249.

36   R.C. Simmons, 'ABCs, Almanacs, Ballads, Chapbooks, Popular Piety and Textbooks', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 504.

37   Joad Raymond, 'The Development of the Book Trade in Britain', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 61.

38   Stuart Kelly, *The Book of Lost Books: An Incomplete History of All the Great Books You'll Never Read* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2005), p. 377.

Lost works are therefore key to a greater understanding of how this type of cheap print was used, and by whom.

I Am Not a Number, I Am a Freeman (of the Stationers' Company)

The Worshipful Company of Stationers began life in 1403 as the Mistery of Stationers. The freemen of this group represented a number of different occupations within the book industry, from textwriters and illustrators, to bookbinders and booksellers.[39] From the time moveable-type printing arrived in England with William Caxton in 1476 to the end of Edward VI's reign in 1556 the most affluent printers did not come from the Company.[40] It was only once these mainly pro-Reformation printers left England after the succession of the Catholic Mary I that the Company members began to gain the upper hand within the print trade.[41] The Company was able to take advantage of the upheaval and the threat of heretical books to promote the case for a printing monopoly; the members presenting themselves as the ideal group to enforce this.[42]

In 1557, the Stationers' Company was granted a charter providing its members with a monopoly over printing in England. It is not clear who benefited most from this development; the monarchy or the stationers. For W.W. Greg, the charter was a joint venture between the Crown and the Company, while D.F. McKenzie believed that it was more of a natural progression from guild status.[43] Either way, the monopoly had a large impact on the development of book production in England. It placed limits on the number of master printers and presses; after 1586 only twenty-one printing houses were permitted.[44] It restricted printing to Company members within London, although people

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39   Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501–1557 Volume 1: 1501–1546* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 13.

40   Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501–1557 Volume 2: 1547–1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 933–934.

41   *Ibid.*, p. 825.

42   *Ibid.*, p. 932.

43   W.W. Greg and E. Boswell, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1576–1602: From Register B* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1930), p. lx; D.F. McKenzie, 'Stationers' Company Liber A: An Apologia', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550–1990* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), p. 41.

44   Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403–1959* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960), p. 80.

outside the Company could still obtain privileges for certain works.[45] More significantly, the monopoly meant that printing jobs carried out by Company members would be systematically supervised and documented.

The Stationers' Company Register was not a single document. Over the period between 1557 and 1640 there were three separate books, later labelled as A, B and C. To make an entry, stationers went to the Company Hall and had the title of a book they intended to publish entered by one of the elected wardens. During this period, the term stationer is the most appropriate as some Company members were not just printers, but also publishers and booksellers. The year ran from July to June, and this pattern has been retained for the analysis presented in this study. Out of eighty years of Register coverage, the only years missing are July 1571–June 1576.[46] Entries consisted of the date of entry, the name of the stationer, the title of the book and the fee paid. One of the first entries in 1557/58 was 'To Thomas Marshe to prynte this boke Called *The peerle of parfiction* and for his lycense he geveth to the howse ....iiijd'.[47] Over the years, entries became more descriptive, with additional information on author, translator, genre and the name of an examiner:

> xix. Februarij 1588 Richard Jones Receaved of him for printing *A Sermon preached by master Doctor MORGAN at the funeral of Sir YEVAN LLOYD knight*, to be prynted in Welche, aucthorysed under the hands of the Archbishop of CANTERBURY and bothe the wardens ....vjd.[48]

Neither of these entries can be traced to a surviving copy.

The Stationers' Company Register was a form of pre-publication censorship. Even though the original charter did not escape the flames of the Great Fire, copies show that books needed to be authorised by the wardens or other officials before being licensed. This was formalised in the religious Injunctions in 1559:

> Because there is a great abuse in the printers of books ... whereby ariseth great disorder by publication of unfruitful, vain and infamous bokes and papers: the Queen's majesty straightly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person shall print any manner of book or paper, of what

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45 W.W. Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 3.

46 McKenzie, 'Stationers' Company Liber A: An Apologia', p. 43.

47 Ar. I. 79. (USTC 523053).

48 Ar. II. 484. (USTC 524760).

sort, nature, or in what language soever it be, except the same be first licensed.[49]

Peter Blayney questioned how far entry into the Register represented either a licence or authorisation. He believed that the need for authorisation by ecclesiastical officials, or by the Master of the Revels for plays entered post-1606, was dependent on the potential offensiveness of the work and was separate to the licence to print provided by the Company.[50] It is certainly true that the level of official scrutiny, both ecclesiastical and secular, fluctuated over the period as the 1559 injunctions on book licensing were superseded by new regulations in both 1586 and 1637.[51] However, as Blayney went on to say, even if the meaning of the words licence and entrance changed over the decades, entries still represented permission to print from the Company and acted as protection for the stationer's investment.[52] The right to a copy lasted for the stationer's lifetime, unless sold and assigned to someone else, and there were harsh punishments for those members who transgressed another member's licence.[53] It was only after 1637 that stationers were required to licence reprints.[54]

Not all the items printed in London were entered in the Register, either purposefully or because there was no requirement to do so. There have been a couple of studies analysing how far the Register represents the total known corpus in particular genres of print. William Proctor Williams found that almost 80% of plays published between 1600 and 1608 were licensed and entered in the Stationers' Register.[55] Looking at the book trade overall, W.W. Greg estimated

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49 Elizabeth I, 'Announcing Injunctions for Religion' (1559), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume II The Later Tudors (1553–1587)*, eds. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (London: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 128.

50 Peter W.M. Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', in John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (eds.), *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 397.

51 Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 57.

52 Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', p. 400.

53 John Barnard, 'Introduction', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 16.

54 Raymond, 'The Development of the Book Trade in Britain', p. 70.

55 William Proctor Williams, '"Vnder the Handes of ...": Zachariah Pasfield and the Licensing of Playbooks', in Marta Straznicky (ed.), *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 73.

that 60–70% of extant books were represented in the Register.[56] More up-to-
date and detailed research on the STC by Maureen Bell suggests that this pro-
portion was more like 50–60%.[57]

Many of the gaps can be easily explained and are accounted for in other
contemporary records. The monarch could give patents and privileges to sta-
tioners, and these did not need to be entered in the Register. The patent for
Common Law books was held by five different stationers during the reign of
Elizabeth I.[58] Patents were also given to individuals outside the Company.
Composers William Byrd and Thomas Tallis held a 21-year privilege for print-
ing and publishing music books.[59] There was a King/Queen's printer for of-
ficial print such as proclamations and the Book of Common Prayer and books
privileged in this way did not need to be entered in the Register.[60] A num-
ber of institutions, such as the City of London and the universities at Oxford
and Cambridge, had their own printers who were regulated by the institution
rather than the Company.[61] Pre-publication censorship also meant that sedi-
tious or contentious works were not entered. This included Catholic works or
pamphlets criticising the government or the church.

Occasionally, a stationer may have chosen not to make an entry. Hyder E.
Rollins argued that the fines and punishments doled out to those who print-
ed without a licence were not particularly harsh, and that the Company was
much stricter when it came to punishing those who violated another member's
licence or privilege.[62] The violation of patents and privileges caused huge in-
ternal issues for the Company, so it is not surprising that fines were harsher
for those offences. In October 1586, a search of printer Roger Ward's house
revealed he was illegally printing editions that were already held under patent
and privilege by other stationers. As a punishment, it was ordered that Ward's
presses and printing tools 'shallbe made unservyceable defaced and used in all

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56   Maureen Bell, 'Entrance in the Stationers Register', *Library*, 16.1 (1994), p. 50.

57   *Ibid.*, p. 51.

58   J.H. Baker, 'English Law Books and Legal Publishing', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.),
      Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, pp. 479–482.

59   Mary Chan, 'Music Books', in *Ibid.*, p. 127.

60   Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640*, p. 54; Brian Cummings, 'Print, Popularity,
      and the *Book of Common Prayer*', in Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (eds.), *The Elizabe-
      than Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013),
      p. 139.

61   Mark Jenner, 'London', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 303;
      David McKitterick, 'University Printing at Oxford and Cambridge', in Bell, Barnard and
      McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 192.

62   Hyder E. Rollins, 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *Publications of the Modern Language
      Association*, 34.2 (1919), pp. 283–284.

points'.[63] Court records are replete with such examples particularly after the 1586 Star Chamber Decree which tightened regulations around authorisation and licensing.[64]

Lori Humphrey Newcomb argued that small books were less likely to be entered, as there was no financial imperative, given that the investment in printing a work of this sort was much less considerable, and the printer had far less to lose from a pirate edition by a competitor.[65] For conservative stationers who walked the thin line between profit and loss, however, the risks of fines if they failed to obtain a licence were not trivial. In 1594 Edward White was fined 5s for printing a ballad without a licence while William Holme was order to pay 1s for printing two unlicensed pamphlets.[66] A decade later Valentine Simmes was fined 13s 14d for printing thirty copies of *The welshbate* and ballads of *The Traitours lately Array[g]ned at Winchester* without licence and had the works removed from him.[67] There was also the consideration that a stationer might be less likely to receive a profitable privilege in the future if they were seen to be rule breakers.[68] While it is certain that not all books printed were entered into the Register, Bell's study into extant works concluded that at least 75% of English first editions were printed legally, and so the Register remains the most comprehensive source for the study of overall production in early modern England.[69]

There were two types of entry; those gaining a licence and those assigning rights, though the proportion changed as the stock system became more prevalent in the seventeenth century, with more and more rights to works collected together by the Company and stock members.[70] Over the decades, the exercise of privileges led to a number of internal problems, with many of the poorer members of the Company feeling that there was little work available once all the most profitable texts, such as schoolbooks and catechisms, were in the hands of a small number of privilege holders.[71] To combat this

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63   Greg and Boswell, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1576–1602*, p. 20.

64   Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650*, p. 9.

65   Lori Humphrey Newcomb, 'Chapbooks', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 476.

66   Ar. II. 822, 823.

67   Ar. III. 249.

68   Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 18.

69   Bell, 'Entrance in the Stationers Register', p. 54.

70   Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, p. 22.

71   Peter Blayney, 'William Cecil and the Stationers', in *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550–1990*, p. 23.

problem, the Company set up the English Stock in 1603, the Latin Stock in 1616 and an Irish Stock in 1618. Members of the Company bought shares in these stocks containing the bestselling titles.[72] There was no ballad 'stock', although a ballad partnership started in 1624 which accumulated rights to the bestselling ballads.[73]

Although it took a couple of years for the stationers to get used to the new licensing system, the Register remained a fundamental part of printing in England from the year of its inception in 1557 until the breakdown in the Company's authority in the 1640s.[74] A few of the very early entries, such as Alexander Lacy's entry in 1560/61 for 'serten ballettes' omit the titles but, on the whole, licences consistently provide the stationer's name, the title and the entry fee.[75] The title can often be extremely informative, sometimes describing the entire contents of a book. One lost example is *Itenerarium sacræ scripturæ that is A voyage of the whole travelles of the holy scriptures / In the ffirst is conteyned all the travelles of the Patryarckes, Judges, Kinges, Prophetes, prynces &c. collected into Dutche myles together with the landes[,]townes, waters, hilles, and valleies that are menconed and sett downe in the scriptures. with the Hebrewe and Greeke names translated into Inglishe, with diverse brief allegeries and spirituall, The seconde concerneth the newe testament wherein is Declared howe the Virgen MARYE, JOSEPHE, The Three wise men, that came out of the East, our saviour JHESUS CHRIST and all the apostles have travailed, collected out of the most credible and worthiest wryters, and calculated in a geometricall proporcon. Hereunto is added a treatise specifieinge the kindes of moneys both gold and silver with the measures of corne and wine, that are rehersed in the holy scriptures.* This title was entered by John Wolfe in 1598.[76]

A few historians have made use of the Register to trace lost titles. Both Tessa Watt and Angela J. McShane included lost titles from the Register in their studies of ballads, while Holger Schott Syme used the entries in the Register to supplement his analysis of playbooks.[77] Systematically studying all the lost works in the Register, however, provides a better context, allowing a

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72   Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England*, p. 40.

73   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 45.

74   Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650*, p. 31; D.F. Mckenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557–1700: Constraints on the London Book Trade', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 554.

75   Ar. I. 151.

76   Ar. III. 102. (USTC 525368).

77   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 42; Angela J. McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England: A Critical Bibliography* (London: Pickering & Chatto,

comparison of loss and survival between genres. It also gives a better idea of what stationers were printing, the timing between entries and printing, as well as whether or not members were specialising in particular genres.

And Now for Something Completely Different: The Study of Lost Items

> A kinde of beastes ther be called, *Ephemera* which are made in the morning, and before sonne settinge do dye.[78]

The loss of a book is more than just the loss of an object; it is the loss of knowledge on the impact and value of that book within its historical context.[79] When an early modern book is lost, it is not just a loss of the text, but also any images and tunes as well as knowledge of the stationers, the writers and the audiences. This is a problem not just for books, but also for manuscript documents, textiles, paintings and other forms of material culture.[80] The importance of lost books was not fully considered until the shift in book history away from the technical aspects of production in bibliographies towards communication and the impact of books and print on society.[81] The study of lost works is therefore a relatively new field of study, with only a handful of articles and a volume of collected essays from the 2014 *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC) Lost Books conference.[82]

2011); Holger Schott Syme, 'Thomas Creede, William Barley, and the Venture of Printing Plays', in *Shakespeare's Stationers*, p. 27.

78   Girolamo Cardano, *Cardanus comforte translated into Englishe. And published by commaundement of the right honourable the Earle of Oxenford* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1573), sig. eii, EEBO. (USTC 507573).

79   Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 3.

80   Examples include, Charles Insley, 'Looking for Charters that Aren't There: Lost Anglo-Saxon Charters and Archival Footprints', in Jonathan Jarrett and Allan Scott McKinley (eds.), *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 171–186, and Glenn Adamson, 'The Case of the Missing Footstool: Reading the Absent Object', in Karen Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 192–207.

81   Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?' *Daedalus*, 111 (1982) p. 65.

82   Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

Technology has had an important impact on the study of lost books. The increase in electronic cataloguing and digitisation has made it easier for researchers to observe the gaps in the records and to re-create lost libraries.[83] The use of x-rays has also provided glimpses of lost works hidden in bindings.[84] This in turn has led to debates on the preservation of history in a digital age. The problems arising from lost items and lost history have far-reaching consequences with modern-day fears of a digital dark age thanks to the ephemeral nature of digital data.[85] Estimations of the number of lost works indicate that there is a significant gap in our knowledge of the history of the book and print. Closing that gap should result in a better assessment of the scale and impact of printing in the early modern period.

There are two main ways of 'finding' lost books. One way is to use established mathematical formulae to estimate the numbers of copies and editions from data on surviving works. The basic method is known as zero-graphing. Creating a graph from the number of editions surviving in three copies, two copies etc., and following the predicted path of the graph, produces an estimate of the number of editions that survive in zero copies i.e. that have been lost.[86] Goran Proot and Leo Egghe used a version of this method, using a mathematical formula rather than a graph, to discover how many printed Jesuit play programmes survived.[87] Taking a small sample from a couple of institutions, their research showed that 79.4% of programme editions published between 1574 and 1773 were lost, indicating a loss of over 3,000 copies.[88]

There are a couple of problems with the mathematical method. For the graph to work there needs to be a reliable count of all surviving copies, as well as a sufficient number of editions.[89] For many printed works, this is not

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83   Neil Harris, 'The Italian Renaissance Book: Catalogues, Censuses and Survival', in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant. Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 51; Alison Walker, 'Lost in Plain Sight: Rediscovering the Library of Sir Hans Sloane', in *Lost Books*, p. 404.

84   Roy Meijer, 'X-ray Technique Reveals Hidden Medieval Pages', *Delft University of Technology: Latest News 14 December 2015*, <http://www.tudelft.nl/en/current/latest-news/article/detail/roentgentechniek-onthult-verborgen-middeleeuwse-bladen/> [27 June 2016].

85   See Klaus-Dieter Lehmann, 'Making the Transitory Permanent: The Intellectual Heritage in a Digitized World of Knowledge', *Daedalus*, 125.4 (1996), pp. 307–329.

86   Harris, 'The Italian Renaissance Book', p. 52.

87   Goran Proot and Leo Egghe, 'Estimating Editions on the Basis of Survivals: Printed Programmes of Jesuit Plays in the Provincia Flandro-Belgica before 1773, with a note on the "Book Historical Law"', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102 (2008), p. 149.

88   *Ibid.*, pp. 165–166.

89   Harris, 'The Italian Renaissance Book', p. 52.

available, with Proot and Egghe calculating that their formula was unreliable if the number of editions was below 300.[90] Problems were further highlighted when Jonathan Green, Frank McIntyre and Paul Needham used the formula to work out the number of lost incunabula. The original formula proved unstable because a large number of editions survived in hundreds of copies, rather than in just one or two.[91] Another drawback of the mathematical method is that it provides a theoretical number of lost books rather than a tangible list of titles.

A more descriptive, and reliable, method involves cross-referencing contemporary bibliographies and documents with modern-day catalogues to provide a list of editions which were printed but cannot be traced to a surviving copy. Using contemporary bibliographies is a good technique, as it can provide information on a range of genres, allowing for comparison and placing the titles in context with other works. Alexander S. Wilkinson used two sixteenth-century French bibliographies to demonstrate the importance of content and format in survival. He showed that the sextodecimo format was the least likely to survive, probably because it was an easy size to carry around and less popular amongst collectors; verse and drama survived better than prose.[92] Similarly, Franklin B. Williams in his study of bookseller Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Books* (1595) revealed that folios and science books survived better than the smaller pamphlets and works on divinity.[93]

Unfortunately, bibliographies and catalogues do not include any measure of print runs. This is a common problem when dealing with early printed books where precise information on print runs is extremely scarce. The Stationers' Company set a limit of 1,500 copies per edition, raised to 2,000 copies after 1635.[94] However, this was the maximum number of copies, with pamphlets usually having a print run of between 300 and 500 copies.[95] There were also exceptions for almanacs, calendars and special prayers which could be printed in up to 10,000 copies.[96] Although information on format or print runs was only rarely included in the Register, the entries can still provide vital clues on

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90   Proot and Egghe, 'Estimating Editions on the Basis of Survivals', p. 168.

91   Jonathan Green, Frank McIntyre and Paul Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 105 (2011), p. 150, p. 152.

92   Alexander S. Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French Before 1601', *Library*, 7.10 (2009), p. 202, p. 203, p. 190.

93   Franklin B. Williams, 'Lost Books of Tudor England', *Library*, 5.1 (1978), p. 5, p. 6.

94   Newcomb, 'Chapbooks', p. 484.

95   Jayne E.E. Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Suffolk, 2011), p. 23.

96   Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650*, p. 16; Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 182.

size and genre. The entry fee provides an idea of the length and format, with larger, more expensive works costing more than the average 4d, or 6d after 1582.[97] The genre can also be a good indication of size. Ballads consisted of single sheets with a woodcut, while early news works contained between six to eight pages of text.

As with collections, contemporary lists were dependent on the motives of the compiler. The French bibliographies were compiled by their authors, La Croix du Maine and Antoine du Verdier, to show a golden age of French vernacular writing. This meant a focus on higher cost works in the French language, excluding ephemeral and less intellectual works.[98] The Maunsell catalogue is that of a bookseller, focusing on books of divinity and science, with few items of ephemeral print.[99] This is why the Register is such a useful source as it provides evidence of day-to-day practice within the book trade, rather than the view of one collector or bibliographer.

One of the biggest hurdles in estimating lost books is the creation of 'ghosts'. 'Ghosts' are books that are recorded in some sort of catalogue or list, but were never actually printed. These can be created by the slip of a pen, the mis-reading of a faded microfilm or the misrepresentation of a variant as a separate edition.[100] This is also a problem when digitising a library catalogue, as a book printed in 1650 could be rekeyed accidentally as 1560, thereby creating a new record. The key question on the Register though is whether or not each entry resulted in a printed edition. Printing was a risky business, and needed a lot of capital, especially for large projects which could take months, even years.[101] Entries could therefore represent an abandoned project, rather than a printed edition. Some printers could also pre-emptively gain a licence for a work in order to prevent others from acquiring it, but they might not necessarily end up printing the work.[102]

Although the more expensive books entered in the Register are included in this study, the focus is on cheap and ephemeral works, which, given the speed and low risk of producing such works, were projects less likely be abandoned after the title had been registered.[103] The cost of gaining a licence also

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97   Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', p. 400.

98   Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French Before 1601', p. 201.

99   Williams, 'Lost Books of Tudor England', p. 1, p. 3.

100   Oliver M. Willard, 'The Survival of English Books Printed Before 1640: A Theory and Some Illustrations', *Library*, 4.23 (1942), pp. 181–190; Falk Eisermann, 'The Gutenberg Galaxy's Dark Matter: Lost Incunabula, and Ways to Retrieve them', in *Lost Books*, p. 39.

101   Barnard, 'Introduction', p. 8.

102   Raymond, 'The Development of the Book Trade in Britain', p. 70.

103   Maureen Bell, '*Mise-en-page*, Illustration, Expressive Form', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 632.

meant there would be little benefit in pre-emptively entering a ballad or a news item which would lose its potency the longer it was left unprinted.[104] Where possible, later editions and other contemporary sources have been used as additional proof that a lost edition was actually printed. While the first edition of the 1628 entry *The grounds of that Doctrine which is according to godlynesse, or a breife and easye Catachisme* cannot be traced to an existing copy, it survives as second edition from 1630.[105] Similarly, the 1593 entry of *A brief methode of Cathechisinge with certen brief exercises of religion thereunto annexed* can be traced to a fifth edition in 1597, a forty-third edition in 1638, and can be matched with a book listed in the Maunsell bibliography.[106]

Research into book advertisements in seventeenth-century Dutch newspapers has already shown how survival of a later edition can be used as evidence of earlier undocumented editions.[107] Using the English example, as *A briefe method of catechising* only survives in the fifth and forty-third edition, it is extremely likely that between 1593 and 1638, an additional forty-one editions of the work have been lost. As reprints did not need to be entered in the Register, it is difficult to include works of this type in this study here. Nevertheless, a thorough analysis of surviving data would reveal more information on lost editions in England and elsewhere in Europe.

To limit the inclusion of 'ghosts' in this study any entries which were crossed out for not receiving authorisation, were not paid for, or were labelled as not printed, have been excluded. Assigned works and stock entries have also been excluded as gaining rights to a work was not as pro-active as going out and gaining a licence. This includes items entered for the English stock, the ballad partnership and the Latin stock. Assigned and stock entries are useful in discovering which works were the most popular, and how they continued to be printed over the years. However, as some Company members bought the lifetime accumulation of stock from a deceased stationer in one transaction, it is best to view them separately as it would be risky to assume that all the rights bought would lead to print. Looking at the entries over a span of eight decades

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104   H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1558–1603: Being A Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 222.

105   Ar. IV. 203. ESTC S103499. (USTC 527409).

106   Ar. II. 642. ESTC S91814, S91816. (USTC 527567, 3019886). Andrew Maunsell, 'The First Part of the Catalogue of English Printed Books', *Andrew Maunsell: The Catalogue of English Printed Books (1595)* (London: Gregg Press in Association with the Archive Press, 1965), p. 32.

107   Arthur der Weduwen and Andrew Pettegree, 'Publicity and Its Uses. Lost Books as Revealed in Newspaper Advertisements in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in *Lost Books*, pp. 211–212.

also established patterns and averages, making it easier to spot survival anomalies over the years. There is always a chance that some of the entries included were not printed, but by taking these precautionary steps, the impact of unprinted books on the present analysis has been significantly reduced. Even with these exclusions, there are over 11,000 entries in the Register for the period 1557 to 1640.

There were three main stages to the research. The Register entries were initially placed onto a database, separating out the titles, printers, authors, entry price and other relevant information. Compiling a database allowed for changes to categories and updates if new information was found on an item. Compilation of the database relied heavily on the work of Edward Arber who transcribed and published the entries in the Register in four volumes between 1875 and 1877.[108] Although completed many years ago, Arber's work remains the most accurate transcription of the Register, relied upon by both historians and bibliographers alike.[109] I was also grateful for the help of Giles Bergel and colleagues at Oxford University, who shared with me a digital transcript of the Register. This transcript required considerable extra manipulation to render it compatible with the database structure, work I undertook myself. Next, the entries in the Register were cross-referenced with the ESTC, the USTC and *Early English Books On-line* (EEBO) to match the entries with surviving copies. Finally, the entries were categorised to allow for a better analysis of genre and survival rates.

Lost items were only fully revealed once the Register was cross-referenced with modern catalogues. Entries were matched with copies on the ESTC, the on-line catalogue for the extant works printed in the British Isles and North America during the early modern period, and the USTC, an on-line database of surviving European books showing holdings from a wide range of European library catalogues.[110] While the majority of entries were easy to match with their surviving counterpart because they were printed in the same year, and with the same title as the entry, some entries were printed years later, or printed with a slightly different title. For this reason the name of the stationer who made the entry was used as the primary tool of matching, rather than the year or title, as this provided a better chance of matching with a surviving record. Even though false and fictitious imprints were not uncommon for illegal works, those stationers who had gone to the trouble to pay for a licence and

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108 *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640*, ed. Edward Arber, Vols. 1–4 (London: Privately Printed, 1875–77).

109 Robin Myers, 'Arber, Edward (1836–1912)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30428> [7 April 2017].

110 ESTC <http://estc.bl.uk/> [1 July 2016]. USTC <http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php> [6 July 2016].

have the work authorised were unlikely to have their names omitted from the imprint.[111] To further ensure the robustness of the study, names of additional printers, the year and title, as well as digital copies on EEBO were used to limit incorrect matches.

As I worked through the entries I entered a code to indicate the level of authority for a particular match or attribution. Entries were labelled with a number code (1–4) which indicated the likelihood of the match. Clear matches were numbered one. Entries were assigned a two if there appeared to be a possible match, but this could not be established with certainty. As entries were usually made before the work was printed, slight changes in title could occur. Also, apart from news items and ballads, books were not always printed immediately after entry.[112] Unless the books specified that they were a particular edition (2nd, 3rd, 4th etc.), I allowed a few years for these larger works to be printed, particularly if they needed to be translated or contained illustrations. *Summa Bibliæ* was entered by Robert Milbourne in 1621 but the fully translated edition did not appear until 1623.[113] These cases were all assigned the number two, and assumed, for the purpose of this study, to be the book registered. This may tend marginally to depress the total of lost books, but it seemed appropriate to stray on the side of caution.

Code level three was used in cases where entries might be matched to a surviving copy, but the evidence was unclear. This occurred when there were similarities between an entry and a surviving copy, but there were too many variables to make a reliable match; a different printer, printed years before an entry, or printed too many years later. William Pickering entered *The preface of and upon the Dyscours of the warre of the ij g[r]amer speches that ys to say the NOWNE and the VERBE* in 1565/66, but the only surviving edition was printed by Henry Bynneman in 1569.[114]

The code four was assigned to a small number of cases where the book entered could not be found in the year specified, but where an identical title appeared later, often very much later. This is almost certainly a reprint of an earlier, lost edition: I gave them a separate coding from the entries left blank purely so that I could verify the match when dealing with titles that enjoyed popularity over a large span of years. One example is *An Allphabet and playne pathewaie to the facultye of Readinge, otherwise called the spellinge A.B.C.* which

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111   David L. Gants, 'A Quantitative Analysis of the London Book Trade 1614–1618', *Studies in Bibliography*, 55 (2002), p. 193.

112   Bell, 'Entrance in the Stationers Register', p. 52.

113   Ar. IV. 58. (USTC 3010836).

114   Ar. I. 305. (USTC 527441).

One [Found]	Two [Found]	Three [Lost]	Four [Lost]	Blank [Lost]
5082	928	651	213	4137

FIGURE 0.2 *Breakdown of Stationers' Register entries with an indication (level 1–4) of reliability of match, 1557–1640.*

was entered by Robert Dexter in 1590, but can only be traced to a surviving copy printed in 1601.[115]

For the purpose of this study therefore, the corpus of lost books consists of entries coded three and four, together with those left blank. Only the entries numbered one or two were deemed to be 'found' (Figure 0.2).

Unfortunately, modern catalogues are not infallible; especially in the case where many items are bound together, catalogues often provide an abbreviated entry, or miss items even when attempting to catalogue each individually.[116] This is a particular problem with ballads or other single-sheet material, which can be folded up among other printed items. Imprint catalogues are also based on an assumption that, since compilation, the books have not been destroyed or lost.[117] On-line databases and catalogues provide easy access, but the accuracy of the digitisation process is highly dependent on other people's input of data. This is also true of Edward Arber's transcription and the consistency of the wardens writing in the original Registers. English book collections, however, are fairly well-catalogued, and suffer less from destruction from war and natural disasters, making the ESTC a reliable source.[118] No catalogue is able to display holdings from every library and private collection, so some books now believed to be lost may someday be rediscovered. However, most lost works tend to be ephemeral works which by definition are unlikely to have survived.

Survival was highly dependent on the genre of the book. For the purpose of this study, entries were separated into different categories to aid analysis. Religious values permeated all parts of early modern society, so one can never create a wholly watertight category of religious works.[119] Religious

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115   Ar. II. 566. ESTC S91162. (USTC 3000531).

116   Hugh Amory, 'Pseudodoxia Bibliographica, or When is a Book Not a Book? When It's a Record', in Lotte Helinga (ed.), *The Scholar and the Database: Papers Presented on 4 November 1999 at the CERL Conference Hosted by the Royal Library, Brussels* (London: Consortium of European Research Libraries, 2001), p. 7.

117   *Ibid.*, p. 9.

118   Peter Blayney, 'The Numbers Game: Appraising the Revised Short-Title Catalogue', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 88.3 (1994), p. 407.

119   Patrick Collinson, Arnold Hunt and Alexandra Walsham, 'Religious Publishing in England 1557–1640', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 30.

books, as categorised here, are those which focused entirely on religion, such as sermons, commentaries and prayer books. News is also hard to define as, before the creation of newsbooks and newspapers, other forms of print, such as ballads played an important part in spreading newsworthy stories. Ballads and news sheets had the same entry price suggesting that they were regarded by contemporaries as falling within an overlapping category of ephemeral print.[120] For the purpose of this study, ballads have been analysed separately, while recognising that many (though by no means all) deal with current events that were extremely newsworthy – indeed, this was a large part of their appeal. Prose pamphlets and single sheets dealing with the news which do not appear to have been intended to be sung are separated into their own chapter, though with the understanding that there will, in practice, be considerable thematic overlap between the two. Books dealing with medicine, travel, history, almanacs and how-to manuals are loosely categorised as books of learning, while books primarily for leisure purposes include music, plays, novels and games.

Assigning a genre was quite easy when the book survived as it can often be accessed on EEBO or has been written about in secondary literature. It is more difficult with lost works, but not impossible. Titles themselves can be pretty informative, especially in the case of ballads and news items which often have formulaic titles. The information around the entry itself can also be very helpful, with price an indication of cheap print, as well as the phrase 'entered a plaie book' or 'ballet'.[121] Monographs and articles on different genres of print by historians and bibliographers also give clues and examples. One useful resource was an index of ballad entries from the Register by Hyder E. Rollins in which ballad entries were extracted and separated from those of other single-sheet items.[122] The intertextuality of print and the popularity of some titles meant it was also helpful to study the entries in conjunction with extant works and later versions, the majority of which were available as digital copies on EEBO, *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (EBBA) and other databases.[123]

The Stationers' Company Register: The Lost Years

Rather ironically for a source used to analyse lost books, the Register does itself contain a lost book. The Register for the period 1557 to 1640 was not one single

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120   Blagden, *The Stationers' Company*, p. 43.

121   Ar. II. 641, III. 245. (USTC 527156, 525594).

122   Hyder E. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London', *Studies in Philology*, 21.1 (1924), pp. 1–324.

123   EEBO <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [1 July 2016]. EBBA <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/> [1 July 2016].

document but three Registers, later labelled as A, B and C. It is not immediately clear why the years 1571–76 are missing, although it is suggested these years formed part of a clerk's book.[124] By 1576, this book, which also included decisions by the Company court, was full and replaced by Liber B which now had a separate section for the licence entries.[125] Nevertheless, by looking at patterns of survival and entry in the preceding and succeeding years, as well as data from extant works, an impression of the books entered in these years can be created.

Statistical estimation in the study of lost works has already been shown in studies on zero graphing where the number of extant editions and copies is used to calculate the number of editions that survive in zero copies i.e. lost editions.[126] As statistical studies provide a more theoretical estimation of lost books than by using contemporary documents, I will not be including estimated data from the missing years in my overall calculations. Looking at the data from these missing years, however, is an appropriate starting point, providing a taste of some of the wider trends and conclusions that will be discussed in the proceeding chapters.

Comparing the number of extant books in the ESTC with the number of found works in the surviving years in the Register created an average entry rate for the 1570s. Utilising this average entry rate and the average survival rate, an estimate of lost, surviving and total entries could be made for each missing year in the Register. The average survival rate was then used to calculate the number of lost and surviving items per genre. For the surviving years of the Register during the 1570s, 42% of lost books were ballads, 19% were fictional and music works, 14% religious works, 13% news and 12% works of knowledge and learning.

Overall, the estimated entries for 1571–1576 follow the decline in ballads from the 1560s to 1580s, to be covered in Chapter 1, and the rise in books of news and religion, studied in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively. The 1570s was the high point for broadsheet epitaphs which is unfortunate given how so few survive. The missing years also mask the immediate impact of the monopoly on

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124   D.F. McKenzie, 'Stationers' Company Liber A: An Apologia', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (ed.), *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade, 1550–1990* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), p. 43.

125   W.W. Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing Between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 31.

126   See Goran Proot and Leo Egghe, 'Estimating Editions on the Basis of Survivals: Printed Programmes of Jesuit Plays in the Provincia Flandro-Belgica before 1773, with a note on the "Book Historical Law"', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102 (2008), pp. 149–174; Green, McIntyre and Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions', pp. 141–175.

	Ballad	News	Religion	Learning	Leisure	Total
Lost	166	49	57	49	75	396
Surviving	12	32	149	100	52	345
Total	178	81	206	149	127	741

FIGURE 0.3 *Table showing estimated entries from missing Register years, July 1571–July 1576.*

almanacs created in 1571. Both of these genres will be explored in Chapter 4. More interestingly, it estimates an additional 396 lost works (Figure 0.3).

There are some limitations to this method. Although using extant data means that the number of entries is linked to the number of extant works, using average rates misses the fluctuations in survival over the five years. Studies on extant works have already shown how the everyday works of the Company could be disrupted by events. In *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, there were analyses of 1588–89, 1603, 1625 and 1641 showing the impact of the Armada, the succession of James I, the succession of Charles I and the lapse of the licensing act on the book trade.[127] Analysis of the entries and the inclusion of lost works further enhances knowledge of the short and long term impacts of certain events and changes in the market. These could be religious debates on the Sabbath, the death of a royal or the rise of news entries during periods of conflict.

Extant data for the period 1571–76 suggests a number of events may have had an impact on the items being printed. A proclamation in 1574 moving Michaelmas term due to plague could indicate an increase the number of ballads and religious and medical texts.[128] Plague in London could also explain the dip in extant works in 1574 as print shops did not work during epidemics. There were similar dips in the number of entries in other plague years such as 1563, 1592–93, and 1625. The closure of play houses during plague in 1592 and 1593 may account for the rise in playbooks in 1594 as owners of play texts sought other ways to earn a profit.[129] This might also explain the rise in the number of extant works in 1575 as stationers were making up for income lost during the plague the previous year.

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127 See Jesse M. Lander, '1588–1589', pp. 557–577; Matthew Woodcock, '1603', pp. 578–588; Thomas Cogswell, '1625', pp. 589–598; Jason McElligot, '1641', pp. 599–608, in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture Vol.1 Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

128 Elizabeth I, 'Adjourning Michaelmas Term Because of Plague' (1574), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume II The Later Tudors (1553–1587)*, eds. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (London: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 386.

129 Douglas Bruster, 'Shakespeare the Stationer', in Marta Straznicky (ed.), *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 118.

The St Bartholomew's Day massacre in Paris in 1572 may have led to a surge in the number of news items. However, the small number of works that do survive in English tend to have false imprints suggesting this was a risky topic. Nevertheless, looking at extant books in the USTC, it is clear there were a number of news items on the Dutch Revolt. This corresponds with the analysis in Chapter 2 of geographic locations of incoming news print entered in the Register. The period 1572 to 1576 saw a particularly intense period of fighting with victories and defeats on both sides of the conflict.[130]

Studying the Register clearly has wider implications for the reclaiming of 'lost' history. It shows the importance of digitisation, databases and online resources in offering access to wide swathes of data. This provides opportunities to explore history in ways that have not been possible previously. It also shows how correlation between contemporary documents and current catalogues can reveal much about the aspects of early modern culture and the book trade that would otherwise be impossible to trace.

Chapter Outline

The best way to analyse the entries in the Register is to look at them within their respective genres and categories. Focusing on genre highlights the many reasons behind loss and survival and the changes in the popularity of works over the period.

The first two chapters focus on the ballads and news. Over a third of all entries in the Register that cannot be traced to a surviving copy are ballads. These verses on single sheets played an important role in print culture, providing a link between oral and print culture and affordable access to print for a wide range of readers. Despite excellent research being carried out on ballads recently, low rates of survival mean we cannot rely on surviving copies alone for evidence of the genre, particularly for the sixteenth century. Being of a similar size and shape throughout the period also makes ballads ideal for showing the reasons, besides format, for their loss.

The subsequent chapter focuses on news print. Despite the transient nature of news, these items survive surprisingly well. While many historians have focused on the development of news print in England, most notably in the 1620s and 1640s, entries in the Register illustrate the longer-term changes over the period. The lost editions also highlight the impact made by format and

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130   James Tracy, *The Founding of the Dutch Republic: War, Finance, and Politics in Holland, 1572–1588* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 100.

content on entry and survival as well as the range of news items available to a variety of customers that is not always apparent from surviving editions.

The next two chapters look at wider categories of print, with books used primarily for religion or for learning and leisure. Religious books were the largest category of print in the Register and their production was heavily influenced by monarchs, licensors and the shifting religious environment. Books on religion also have the highest levels of survival, although survival rates varied considerably between the books used for religious instruction and those of sermons.

The wider group of works used primarily for learning and leisure treated in the final substantial chapter are interesting because of what they tell us of the development of the market for print in England during these years. Some sub-genres in this group, such as play texts, have been intensively studied, not least because they survive remarkably well. But this is not true of all types of books in these practical and instructional genres, as we shall see.

The final concluding chapter brings together the evidence to provide patterns and comparisons between the genres and the stationers over the decades. It also looks at the wider implications of adding previously lost titles to our knowledge of the surviving corpus.

But first, ballads:

> My Maisters all attend you,
> if mirth you love to heare:
> And I will tell you what they cry,
> in London all the yeare.
> Ile please you if I can,
> I will not be too long,
> I pray you all attend a while,
> and listen to my song.[131]

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131   W. Turner, *Turners dish of Lentten stuffe, or a Galymaufery* (London: Simon Stafford, for John Wright, 1612?), EBBA 20092. (USTC 527700).

The Lamentable Tale of Lost Ballads

On 23 August 1594, the chandler Robert Beech and his apprentice Thomas Winchester were brutally murdered by innkeeper Thomas Merry and his sister Rachel. A play written in 1601 dramatised the moment the fateful plan was formed:

> And therefore I will place this hammer here,
> And take it as I follow *Beech* up staires,
> That suddenlie before he is aware,
> I may with blowes dash out his hatefull braines.[1]

The tale of the slaying and subsequent execution created a sensation. Six ballads by three different stationers were entered in the Register between 29 August and 9 September 1594:

> 29.08.1594 Thomas Gosson *A true discourse of a most cruell and barbarous murther committed by one THOMAS MERREY, on the persons of ROBERTE BEECHE and THOMAS WINCHESTER his servaunt. on ffridaie night the 23th. of August, beinge Bartholomue Eve. 1594. Together with the order of his array[g]nement and execucon*
> 29.08.1594 Thomas Millington *B[E]ECHE his ghoste. complayninge on ye wofull murder committed on him and THOMAS WINCHESTER his servant*
> 03.09.1594 John Danter *A lamentable ballad desribing the wofull murder of ROBERT BEECHE &c*
> 07.09.1594 Thomas Gosson *The pitifull lamentacon of RACHELL MERRYE who suffred in Smithfeild with her brother THOMAS MERRYE the vith of September 1594*
> 07.09.1594 Thomas Gosson *The lamentable ende of THOMAS MERRYE and RACHELL his Sister*
> 09.09.1594 Thomas Millington *Lamentacon of THOMAS MERRYE &c.*[2]

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1 Robert Yarrington, *Two lamentable tragedies. The one, of the murther of Maister Beech a chaundler in Thames-streete, and his boye, done by Thomas Merry. The other of a young childe murthered in a wood by two ruffins, with the consent of his uncle* (London: Richard Read, for Matthew Law, 1601), sig. B3*v*, EEBO. (USTC 3000581).

2 Ar. II. 658, 659. (USTC 525192, 525193, 525194, 525195, 525196, 525197).

Unfortunately, despite the extensive coverage, none of the six ballads survived to relate 'the sad remembrance of that cursed deede,/Perform'd by cruell Merry on just Beech'.[3] This is far from unusual. For the period 1557–1640, 1,734 out of 1,889 ballad editions entered in the Register cannot be traced to an extant copy: a survival rate below 10%. Format played a key role, with single-sheet ballads having one of the highest loss rates of any genre in the Register. The Merry case provides just a tiny fraction of the numerous ballads whose only record of existence is in the Stationers' Company Register.

Ballads were stories in verse often accompanied by a tune, presenting a mix of traditional and contemporary tales, moral teachings and commentaries on events. They were printed on one side of a roughly 33cm × 22cm sheet and consisted generally of 14 to 24 verses.[4] In the sixteenth century, ballads were printed individually and mainly in black-letter (Gothic type). The seventeenth century saw the rise in white-letter (Roman Type) ballads, often with two ballads side by side with separate woodcuts and tunes. The Register entries do not give any indication of the layout or typeface used in each ballad, although a couple of entries at the end of the period seem to contain two ballads. Anne Griffin entered *The Soldiers delight in the North / Our Saviors birth death &c* on 24 April 1640, but only the soldier ballad appears to have survived.[5] As all ballads were generally the same size and quality, they provide evidence for the range of factors, besides format, that lie behind the loss and preservation of print.[6]

Selling for a penny or less, ballads were affordable to a wide range of readers and could be read by those with even a basic level of literacy.[7] They also permeated a number of social spaces. Contemporary Henry Chettle complained that lascivious ballads were being memorised and sung in the streets by drunken men:

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3 Yarrington, *Two lamentable tragedies*, sig. A3.

4 Angela McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture Vol.1 Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 344.

5 Ar. IV. 508. ESTC S95254. (USTC 3021220).

6 See also Alexandra Hill, 'The Lamentable Tale of Lost Ballads in England, 1557–1640', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 442–458.

7 Heidi Brayman Hackel, 'Popular Literacy and Society', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture,* p. 95; R.C. Simmons, 'ABCs, Almanacs, Ballads, Chapbooks, Popular Piety and Textbooks', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 510.

And that with such odioius and detested boldness, as if there be any one line in those lewd songs than other more abhominable, that with a double repetition is lowdly bellowed, as for example of the frier and the nunne.

He whipt her with a foxes taile, Barnes minor,
And he whipt her with a foxes taile, Barnes major.[8]

Another writer also lamented the fact that the works of ballad-mongers were 'lasting-pasted monuments upon the insides of Country Alehouses, where they may sojourne without the expence of a farthing'.[9] The poor survival rate of ballads is a barrier to our understanding of this important aspect of popular culture in early modern England.

Broadside ballads always had a mixed reputation. One critic of ballads and their writers wrote in 1622:

The Thrid-bare [Threadbare] *Poet*, or the Ballad-maker,
That of lassivious Rimes, is full partaker,
And baudy songs writes with his unchast pen,
Which stinke i'th nostrils of virtuous men:
These shew the very dregs, and froth of wit,
Which are unprofitable, and unfit.[10]

This view was echoed in the nineteenth century when broadside ballads were regarded as the poor cousins of folk-songs and not worthy of study.[11]

For all this, broadside ballads were enjoyed by both elite and popular readers.[12] Contemporary jurist and ballad collector John Selden, whose collection was continued by Samuel Pepys, believed that, 'more solid things do not

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8   Henry Chettle, *Kind-harts dreame Conteining five apparitions, with their invectives against abuses raigning. Delivered by severall ghosts unto him to be publish, after Piers Penilesse post had refused the carriage. Invita invidiae* (London: John Wolfe, for William Wright, 1593), sig. C2, EEBO. (USTC 512345).

9   Richard Brathwaite, *Whimzies: or, a new cast of characters* (London: Felix Kingston, sold by Ambrose Ritherdon, 1631), p. 9, EEBO. (USTC 3015405).

10   William Hornby, *Hornbyes hornbook. Judge not too rashly, till through all you looke; if nothing then doth please you, burne the booke* (London: Augustine Matthews, for Thomas Bayly, 1622), sig. B6*v*, EEBO. (USTC 3010176).

11   Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning* (London: Jenkins, 1962), p. 17.

12   Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 9.

shew the Complexion of the times so well, as Ballads and Libels'.[13] In terms of historical study, the revival of interest in broadside ballads began in the first half of the twentieth century, with the works of historians such as Hyder E. Rollins, and Leslie Shepard in the 1960s. Increasing interest in the role of cheap print further heightened the status of ballads, with recent studies using the genre as vital evidence for understanding issues of gender and identity in early modern England.[14]

Despite recent research into the themes, contents and influence of ballads, studies of the genre are still highly reliant on sources from the seventeenth century, particularly post 1640. A simple search of the English Broadside Ballad Archive, which aims to document all the surviving black-letter ballads from the seventeenth century, contains almost ten times as many ballads from the period 1641 to 1700 compared with those from 1601 to 1640.[15] Collecting and, more problematically, luck played a fundamental role in the the survival of the ballad. Lost titles from the Register provide a crucial source of knowledge for ballads of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, illustrating the vagaries of survival and placing the genre within its wider context beyond the collecting practices of individuals.

That Which Survives

Ballads had a number of important collectors, particularly during the seventeenth century. Examples of sixteenth-century survivors come primarily from the Society of Antiquaries, the Huth collection in the British Library and the Britwell collection in the Huntington Library, while the Roxburghe collection and Pepys collection contain survivors from the seventeenth. The exact provenance of these collections is unclear as even the original collectors did not

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13   Hyder E. Rollins, 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 34.2 (1919), p. 272; John Selden, *Table-talk being the discourses of John Selden, Esq., or his sence of various matters of weight and high consequence relating especially to religion and state* (London: for E. Smith, 1689), sig. E2, EEBO.

14   Some examples include Alice Tobriner, 'Old Age in Tudor-Stuart Broadside Ballads', *Folklore*, 102.2 (1991), pp. 149–174; Joy Wiltenburg, 'Ballads and the Emotional Life of Crime', in Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini and Kris McAbee (eds.), *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 173–186; Patricia Fumerton, 'Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32.3 (2002), pp. 493–518.

15   Search carried out using EBBA Archive Search [11 May 2017].

always know from where the ballads were being sourced. Richard Heber, one of the previous owners of the ballads in the Britwell collection, wrote in 1832 that the seller, George Daniel:

> has certainly fallen into the inheritance of the Stationers Company, or some ancient enchanted *stall of ballads* from which these sleeping beauties issue in their clean smocks .... I wish I could find Bank of England notes as fast as he does old ballads.[16]

Writer and collector Daniel is known to have bought the ballads from William Fitch, a postmaster in Ipswich, but that is where the trail goes cold.[17] Another group of ballads from Fitch and Daniel also ended up in the Huth collection.[18]

Nearly all ballads survive in only a single copy. One of the few exceptions was *The lamentacon of Beckles a market towne in Suffolk. on Sainct Andrewes Day laste paste beinge burnt with fier to the number of lxxx [eighty] house[s] and losse of xxmli [i.e. £20,000]* entered 13 December 1586.[19] A copy of this ballad survives in six different collections.[20] Even more interestingly, it is the only surviving ballad out of 111 ballad entries for the year 1586/87. Printed for a bookseller in Norwich the ballad on the local Beckles fire probably did not sell at all which is why so many copies ended up in collections. Without more evidence on provenance though, it will never be entirely clear how copies from a printer in Elizabethan London ended up in modern collections in Leeds and Chicago.

Often ballads only survived because they were used in bindings or bound into a miscellany by collectors.[21] Relying purely on surviving copies in collections is therefore highly problematic, often representing only one person's idea of what was collectible, rather than what the majority of people were reading.[22] Bertrand T. Whitehead in his work on Spanish Armada ballads suggests that the less popular ballads were more likely to survive as they were less prone

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16 Wakefield Christie-Miller, *Alphabetical list of black letter ballads & broadsides, known as the Heber collection, in the possession of S. Christie-Miller esq., Britwell, Bucks* (London: Britwell Court, 1872), no page number.

17 'Provenance of the Huntington Collections' EBBA, <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/provenance2> [11 July 2016].

18 *Ibid.*

19 Ar. II. 461. (USTC 510635).

20 ESTC S121867. (USTC 510635).

21 Simmons, 'ABCs, Almanacs, Ballads, Chapbooks, Popular Piety and Textbooks', p. 504.

22 John C. Hirsch, 'Samuel Pepys as a Collector and Student of Ballads', *The Modern Language Review*, 106.1 (2011), p. 47.

to destruction through use.[23] Further corroboration for the theory that ballads only survived because they were not used can be found in our knowledge that the collections of Samuel Pepys and Robert Harley were assembled partly from material discovered in booksellers' waste stock by the writer and antiquarian John Bagford.[24]

Although popular ballads were destroyed through use, at least they were more likely to be reprinted.[25] One such example is *The firste part of the merchauntes daughter of Bristoll &c* entered on 24 February 1595 by Thomas Creede.[26] No copy of this edition can be traced but a version survives from 1610, and interestingly, a version of the second part survives from 1600.[27] In 1624 the ballad was entered into the ballad partnership stock and it remained popular throughout the seventeenth century.[28] One edition is even extant from the mid-eighteenth century.[29]

Unfortunately, printed ballads were by no means fixed objects. Even if later versions appeared to have the same title or topic, there was no guarantee that they were the same as their earlier lost counterparts. Comparing the ballads on the Merchant's daughter from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shows similar content, but with significant changes in spelling and format. The eighteenth-century copy contains both parts on the same sheet with a wry comment at the top justifying incongruities in the plot:

> There is one Passage on this Song much carpd at, and that is the Time Maudlins Lover lay under Condemnation, but you may remark that People lie many Years in the Inquisition Prisons. But there is another Objection I cannot so readily answer which is the Mercy shewn by the Judges, since we have not another Instance extant.[30]

23 Bertrand T. Whitehead, *Brags and Boasts: Propaganda in the Year of the Armada* (Stroud: Allan Sutton Publishing, 1994), p. 88.

24 Theodor Harmsen, 'Bagford, John (1650/51–1716)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1030> [10 August 2016].

25 Alexander S. Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French Before 1601', *Library*, 7.10 (2009), p. 205.

26 Ar. II. 672. (USTC 527467).

27 Anon, *The first[-second] part of the Marchants daughter of Bristow To the tune of, The maydens joy* (London: William White, 1610), EEBO. (USTC 527467); Anon, *The [first-] second part of the Marchants daughter of Bristow To the tune of The Maidens joy* (London: Edward Allde, for William Blackwall, 1600), EEBO. (USTC 527974).

28 Ar. IV. 131.

29 Anon, *Maudlin, The Merchant's Daughter of Bristol* (S.l.: s.n., 1750?), EBBA 31082.

30 *Ibid.*

Content was an important aspect of survival, so for ease of analysis, ballads have been organised into five categories; Daily Life, Fiction, Romance, Events and Religion (Figure 1.1).[31] Categories of this sort have a venerable tradition, not least in the practice of Samuel Pepys, who divided his ballads into groups such as Devotion and Morality, History, Tragedy, Love Pleasant and Love Unfortunate.[32] Titles in the Stationers' Register range from *A newe merrye medley procuringe delighte which nowe verye latelye is comme unto sighte to pleasure eche person at everye good season that hathe sucalde [i.e. suckled] delighte in ryme without reason* entered in 1588, to the less optimistic *Terrible Horrible dreadfull newes &c* from 1639.[33] The titles of some lost ballads also give more detail on content than others. The lost entry *A wofull ballad of a knightes daughter in Scotland whoe was murdered by her husband, beinge likewise the husband of another wyfe / and howe it was revealed, by his first wyfe and her sonne* (1596) provides a decent idea of the story. This is in contrast to shorter lost titles such as *The Dyscryption of the penne &c* (1562/63) or *Gin gle dec utt* (1640).[34] With these titles, it is difficult to deduce the content of the ballad.

Ballads representing tales of day-to-day life in early modern England, including occupations, leisure time and friendship, are placed in the category Daily Life. Examples include the lost titles *A ballett of a mylner* (1557/58), *Goinge to market to buy the child shoes* (1580) and *I tell thee good fellow tis Ale* (1635).[35] Tales of wooing and marriage are listed under the epithet of Romance and include lost titles such as *A newe ballad deciphring the vaine expence of fond felloes upon fickel maides &c* (1588).[36] The ballads placed in the Fiction category contain stories of old and new fictional characters, from mediaeval legends in the tale of *ROBYN HOD* (1562/63) to contemporary heroines in the ballad *The madd merye pranckes of Long MEGG of Westminster* (1595).[37] Ballads on crimes, strange sights and major historical events are placed under the Events heading, including *Iij women burnt in Jarsey and of the burninge of a child yssuinge from one of them as she was burning* (1586) and *The Traytours Downfall Declaringe their Araignement condempcon and Execucons* (1606) entered following the Gunpowder Plot.[38] Finally, ballads focused on biblical tales

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31   Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French Before 1601', p. 203.

32   Hirsch, 'Samuel Pepys as a Collector and Student of Ballads', p. 53.

33   Ar. II. 489, IV. 493. (USTC 524777, 527019).

34   Ar. III. 64, I. 200, IV. 509. (USTC 525309, 523206, 527079).

35   Ar. I. 76, II. 379, IV. 333. (USTC 523029, 524322, 326722).

36   Ar. II. 506. (USTC 524827).

37   Ar. I. 204, II. 293. (USTC 523228, 525246).

38   Ar. II. 451, III. 312. (USTC 524607, 525682).

Ballad subjects	Total	Surviving ballads (%)	Lost ballads (%)
Daily Life	322	23 (7)	299 (93)
Romance	243	32 (13)	211 (87)
Fiction	373	27 (7)	346 (93)
Events	473	49 (10)	424 (90)
Religion	462	24 (5)	438 (95)
Total	1873	155 (8)	1718 (92)

FIGURE 1.1   *Number of lost and surviving ballads by category, entered in the Stationers'*
Company Register 1557–1640.
Note: Fifteen of the entries that do not have titles, and were simply listed as
'serten balletts' have been excluded from this table, as has a list of 123 ballads
entered by Ric Jones in 8 August 1586 which is missing from the Register.

and moral behaviour are listed under Religion. One lost example is *A paire of garters for yonge menne to weare yat serve the LORD GOD and Lyve in his feare* entered by John Charlewood in 1578.[39]

Ballad Entry in the Register

In the first eighty years of printing in England before the Register, the USTC records only six surviving printed ballads, the earliest of which is entitled *Whippet you priests* from 1549.[40] This ballad tells of the harm being done to God's reputation by drunk, lazy priests.[41] The other surviving ballads were similarly religious in nature, although there was also a ballad against treason and one from 1554 announcing the pregnancy of Queen Mary.

The Stationers' Register functioned as a form of pre-publication censorship. This meant that members could not enter ballads if they were regarded as 'leude, lascivious, scurrilous, or popishe'.[42] An entry by Edward Allde in 1586 called *A belman for England &c* was only allowed if two of the verses

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39   Ar. II. 339. (USTC 524120).
40   ESTC S2388. (US504176).
41   Anon, [*Whippet you priests*] (London: s.n., 1549?), EEBO. (USTC 504176).
42   *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640*, ed. William Jackson (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), p. 54.
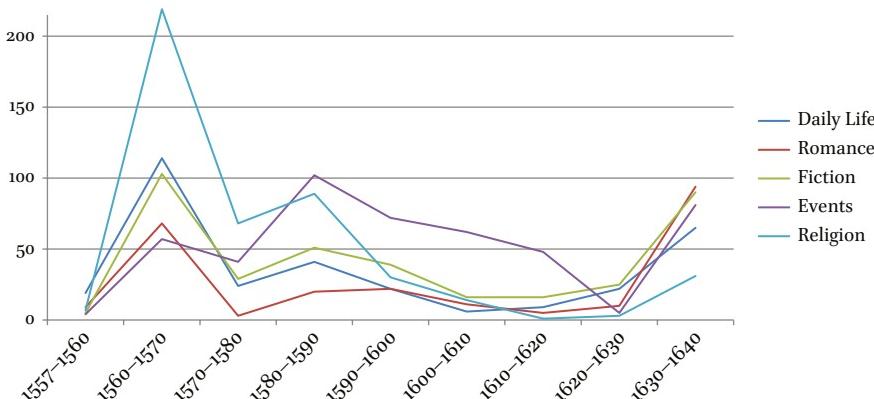
FIGURE 1.2   *Ballads entered in the Stationers' Company Register by category, 1557–1640.*
              See corresponding figure in Colour Section.

were removed, while an entry by Thomas Gosson in 1591 of *A ballad of a yonge man that went a wooying &c* was cancelled for 'the undecentnes of it in Diverse verses'.[43] The main evidence for controversial ballads, such as Catholic works, libels and verses criticising the government, comes from documents on fines and seizures or manuscript copies rather than the Register.[44] Nevertheless, some entries contain references to these controversial works; Alexander Lacy in 1565/66 entered *A Replye agaynste that sedicious and papesticall wretten ballet late caste abrode in the stretes of the Cetie of London*.[45]

Entries of ballads in the Register illustrate how the popularity of topics varied from decade to decade. It is evident from Figure 1.2 that the 1560s saw a huge upsurge in ballads with a religious or moral topic while the 1580s saw a rise in the number of ballads covering current events. These changes reflect the increased use of print in the dissemination of religious ideas and news during this time. Likewise, there was no clear general rise in the survival rates of ballads, with only a marginally better survival rate in the seventeenth century (6% rising to 14%). This slight increase in survival in the seventeenth century was most likely a result of the rise in collecting.

Ballad publication was at its peak in the 1560s when the genre made up 43% of all entries in the Stationers' Company Register. After the 1560s, the percentage of ballad entries in the Register gradually declined so that by the 1620s, only 5% of entries being made in the Register were ballads. Some of this decline was

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43   Ar. II. 461, 576. (USTC 3008914).

44   Alison Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 86.

45   Ar. I. 311. (USTC 523576).

due to a decreasing number of stationers being allowed to print ballads. From 1612–1620, the ballad market was assigned to five ballad printers: Edward Allde, George Eld, William White, Simon Stafford and Ralph Blore, with George Purslowe replacing Stafford in 1614.[46] Other members could still enter ballads, but they had to be printed by the chosen printers.[47] This monopoly ended in 1620 at the same time that Roger Wood and Thomas Symcock gained a thirty-one year patent from the monarch for 'Printing of Paper and Parchment on one side'.[48] Though this patent did not include ballads, it did include the jobbing printing done by poorer printers.[49] While lobbying James I to get the patent revoked, the Company presumably loosened the ballad monopoly to appease the poorer printers who had lost a large chunk of their single-sheet business.

Tessa Watt in her study of cheap print believed the period 1595 to 1624, rather than being a low point for ballad producton, was actually a weak period for the registration of ballads.[50] The number was certainly lower than the peak after the 1586 Star Chamber Decree which strengthened licensing regulations. Nevertheless, Watt's own analysis of extant ballads printed before 1600 calculated that over 60% of ballads were licensed.[51] Similarly, in my article on lost ballads, I calculated that 60% of surviving editions had been produced legally in the period 1557–1640.[52]

In 1624, a new consortium bought the rights to the best-selling ballads. Entries on 14 December 1624 included old classics such as *CHEVIE CHASE*, *Widdow of Watling street* and *The King and Tanner*.[53] The ballad partners were Thomas Pavier, John Wright, Cuthbert Wright, Edward Wright, John Grismond and Henry Gosson, with Francis Coles replacing Pavier when he died in 1626.[54] Although this was not a monopoly, for the next decade, the partners had control over most ballad production as is particularly evident between 2 July 1624

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46   *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640*, p. 53, p. 68.

47   *Ibid.*, p. 53.

48   James I, *An abstract of His Majesties letters patents granted, unto Roger Wood and Thomas Symcocke, for the sole printing of paper and parchment on the one side* (London: Edward Allde, assign of Roger Wood, and Thomas Symcock, 1620), EEBO. (USTC 3004943).

49   *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640*, p. xvii.

50   Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 46.

51   *Ibid.*, p. 46.

52   Alexandra Hill, 'The Lamentable Tale of Lost Ballads in England, 1557–1640', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 447.

53   Ar. IV. 131.

54   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 75.

and 5 March 1627 when no ballad entries were made outside the partnership. At the same time, Roger Wood and Thomas Symcock's patent over single-sheet jobbing print was revoked, leading Symcock to obtain a new patent for the printing of ballads in 1628.[55] Once again, the patent interfered with the Company monopoly and the members were able to persuade the monarch to annul Symcock's patent a year later.

By the 1630s, the entrance of ballads in the Register had reverted back to sixteenth-century levels. Drawing on the work of Tessa Watt, John Barnard and Maureen Bell claimed that the ballad partnership had full control of ballad printing in England by the 1630s.[56] After 1633, however, both members of the ballad partnership and their rivals, mainly Francis Grove, Thomas Lambert and John Trundle, entered significant numbers of ballads in the Register. Towards the end of the Register, a couple of these stationers simply provided lists of all the ballads they had printed over the year. June 1636 saw both John Wright Junior and Thomas Lambert enter twenty-seven ballads that they had printed over the previous year.[57]

Beyond a Joke: Ballad Writers and Their Audience

Ballad writers did not have the best reputations:

> Every red-nosed rimester is an author ... scarce can a cat looke out of a gutter, but out starts a half peny Chronicler, and presently *A proper new ballet of a strange sight* is endited.[58]

While it is true that a large number of ballads were anonymous, there were still a number of high profile ballad writers: William Elderton, Thomas Churchyard and Thomas Deloney to name but a few. Unfortunately often it is only from

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55   Charles I, *An abstract of His Majesties letters patents graunted unto Thomas Symcocke* (London: Thomas Symcock, 1628), EEBO. (USTC 3013557).

56   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 76; John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The English Provinces', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 666.

57   Ar. IV. 366.

58   R.W., *Martine Mar-Sixtus A second replie against the defensory and apology of Sixtus the fift late Pope of Rome, defending the execrable fact of the Jacobine Frier, upon the person of Henry the third, late King of France, to be bith commendable, admirable, and meritorious. Wherein the saide apology is faithfully translated, directly answered, and fully satisfied* (London: Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Woodcock, 1591), sig. A3v, EEBO. (USTC 511957).

the surviving ballad that you get a writer's name. One of the more interesting examples comes from the ballad *Almightie God I pray* (1566). The entry in the Register on behalf of the publisher Alexander Lacy did not reference an author, whereas in the surviving copy the writer's name, Christopher Wilson, formed the first letters of each sentence.[59]

Writers aimed for a wide audience. At the lower end of the literary scale ballads include the crude *KYT hath loste hyr keye* (1561/62), with a later manuscript edition containing stanzas such as:

> Kitt hath lost her key,
> But I have one will fytt,
> Her locke, if she will try,
> And do not me denie:
> I hope she hath more wytte.[60]

The panges of love (1558/1559) meanwhile, on lovers from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, required a certain degree of classical knowledge:

> what say ye then to Priamus [Pyramus]
> That promised his love to mete
> And founde by fortune marveilous
> A bloudie cloth before his feete
> For Tysbies [Thisbe's] sake hymselfe he slew
> ladie ladie
> To prove that he was a lover trewe
> My deare ladie.[61]

Nevertheless, the fact that nearly all the titles entered in the Register were written in English shows that ballads were aimed at a domestic, vernacular market. The only exceptions were *A songe of th[e] overthrowe of the Spanysh navie* (1589) 'to be printed in Dutch, French or English', and *Marhastige gluckliche Reittung*

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59   Ar. I. 327. Christopher Wilson, *Almightie God I pray, his holy spirite to send the just mannes hart stedfast to stay, and wicked lives to mend* (London: Alexander Lacy, 1566), EEBO. (USTC 506602).

60   Ar. I. 181. (USTC 523196). Anon, 'Kitt Hath Lost Her Key', in *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company of Works Entered for Publication Between the Years 1557 and 1570,* ed. J. Payne Collier (London: Printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1848), p. 55.

61   Ar. I. 96. William Elderton, *The panges of love and lovers fittes* (London: Richard Lant, 1559), EBBA 32224. (USTC 505568).

aufs Crabaten / von Dem Sigder Christen &c [*ye overthroe of the Turke*] entered by John Wolfe 14 September 1593, and later assigned to Thomas Creede.[62]

Writers did not have copyright over the content of their works, and so inevitably the same characters and tunes would turn up in a number of different publications. Contemporary writer Nicholas Breton discusses a ballad writer who 'in a melancholike humour, meaning to trouble the Muses, with some dolefull Ballad, to the tune of all a greene willow' instead writes up the conversation he just overheard.[63] The tune 'please one and please all' is also mentioned in *Twelfth Night* (1602).[64] A fake letter leads Puritan Malvolio to believe young mistress Olivia is in love with him. To show the love is requited, he follows her instructions to wear yellow stockings cross gartered:

> Sad, lady! I could be sad: this does make some
> obstruction in the blood, this cross-gartering; but
> what of that? if it please the eye of one, it is
> with me as the very true sonnet is, 'Please one, and
> please all'.[65]

Only thirty-three ballad entries actually name a writer. Even famous ballad-writers such as William Birch and Martin Parker are not included in the ballad entries, but are well-known from surviving ballads.[66] The ballads that are entered with the name of a writer cover a range of topics, stationers and decades; ballads by William Elderton were entered by Hugh Singleton, Rice Jones, Richard Jones, Thomas Colwell and Thomas Purfoote. Writers were much more likely to be cited in the Register for larger works and sermons, presumably because they were more respected as authors than the so-called ballad hacks. Stationers would also be investing more heavily in larger works and would include the author's name to make their licence more precise and secure.

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62   Ar. II. 517, 636. (USTC 524857).

63   Nicholas Breton, *Wits trenchmour in a conference had betwixt a scholler and an angler* (London: James Roberts, for Nicholas Ling, 1597), sig. f4*v*, EEBO. (USTC 513331).

64   E.P. Kuhl, 'Malvolio's "Please One, and Please All": (Tw. Night, III, iv, 25)', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 47.3 (1932), p. 903.

65   William Shakespeare, 'Twelfth Night, Or What You Will' (1602), *Open Source Shakespeare On-Line*, <http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/views/plays/play_view.php?WorkID= 12night&Act=3&Scene=4&Scope=scene> [11 July 2016].

66   Edward Wilson-Lee, 'Birch, William', in Garrett A. Sullivan Jr. and Alan Stewart (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of English Renaissance Literature A-F, Volume One* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 77–79; Joad Raymond, 'Parker, Martin (*fl.* 1624–1647)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21326> [2 August 2016].

Only six ballad entries that named a writer can be traced in surviving copies today. Two of the ballads were written by the soldier and writer Thomas Churchyard.[67] Churchyard was the subject of a further six ballads in 1565/66, four of which survive.[68] All of these can be found in one collection, the Britwell at the Huntingdon library, suggesting the original collector was an admirer. The other four surviving ballads entered with a writer's name all concerned contemporary events, including two on the Northern Rebellion. One was by William Elderton, a very popular ballad writer, although the eight other ballads entered in the Register with his name are lost, including one on the earthquake in the Straits of Dover in 1580, and another on an archery contest in York in 1582.[69] The other ballad on the Northern Rebellion was written by William Gibson, but there are no further entries attached to him. The final entry traced to a surviving copy was a ballad on floods in 1570 attributed to actor Richard Tarlton.[70]

Register entries provide titles of nineteen lost works by known ballad writers, including Thomas Brewer, Thomas Churchyard, Thomas Deloney, Timothy Granger, Anthony Munday, Nicholas Bourman and William Turner. More interestingly, entries of lost ballads provide an additional six writers' names that cannot be traced to other works. Given the limited number of times even the more well-known writers' names appear in the Register, it is reasonable to question how many other works we are missing by writers John Charnok, Thomas Cottesforde, John Jaxon, Hugh Offlby, Kendall and William Parrat.[71]

Even when authors are named in the Register, they cannot always be relied upon. This is particularly true of ballads based on the last words of criminals before executions. The most famous example was the highwayman Luke Hutton who did write a surviving pamphlet and a lost larger book but did not write the lost ballad entered by John Danter in 1595.[72] A later version of the attributed ballad shows 'Hutton' supposedly discouraging others from the same path:

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67   Raphael Lyne, 'Churchyard, Thomas (1523?–1604)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5407> [23 August 2016].

68   Ar. I. 309.

69   Hyder E. Rollins, 'William Elderton: Elizabethan Actor and Ballad-Writer', *Studies in Philology*, 17.2 (1920), p. 203. Ar. II. 369, 416. (USTC 524276, 527866).

70   Peter Thomson, 'Tarlton, Richard (d. 1588)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26971> [23 August 2016].

71   Ar. I. 306, 410, II. 347, 528, III. 286, 528. (USTC 523552, 523906, 524149, 524884, 525646, 525939).

72   Cathy Shrank, 'Hutton, Luke (d. 1598)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14307> [23 August 2016].

> Adue my loving friends each one,
> ah woe is me woe is me for my great folly,
> Thinke on my words when I am gone,
> be warned young wantons, &c.
> When on the ladder you shal me view,
> thinke I am nearer heaven then you.[73]

The lost ballad *A dolefull songe* entered 23 February 1594 was attributed to 'Robert Randole borne in Wales', presumably the same Robert Randall mentioned in the subsequent entry entered by Danter, *A wofull and sorrowfull complaint of ROBERT RANDALL and THOMAS RANDALL his son who were executed at Sainct Thomas of Wateringes in London the xxjth of ffebruary 1593 / [i.e. 1594]*, also lost.[74] Another two such lost titles refer to a priest called 'Heugh Stourmy' and the last words of George Mannington, whose sufferings survive in later ballads and a play.[75]

Performance was an important part of the selling of ballads, encouraging interaction between the buyer and seller.[76] Many of the lost titles entered in the Register address their audience: *Ladyes in your laydes name I grete you every eche one* (1569/70), *Nowe lysten well you gallantes all* (1581) and *A Pretty Ditty I bring here to shew. &c* (1633).[77] The use of dialogues and multiple characters in the ballads also highlight their performance pedigree; *A dysputation betwene olde age and youg[t]he* (1563/64), *A proper ballad Dialoge wise betwene TROYLUS and CRESSIDALL* (1581) and *A Dialogue between TOM TELL TROTH and ROBYN CONSCIENCE* (1633).[78] Unfortunately, the ballad titles cannot show how people were reacting to ballads being sung. Instead, evidence for this comes from other contemporary media:

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73   Luke Hutton, *Luke Huttons lamentation which he wrote the day before his death, being comndemned to be hanged at Yorke this last assises for his robberies and trepasses committed. To the tune of Wandering and wavering* (London: Thomas Millington, 1598), EEBO. (USTC 513718).

74   Ar. II. 645. (USTC 525151, 525152).

75   Ar. I. 76, II. 304. (USTC 523042, 524015). Joseph Ritson, *Ancient Songs and Ballads from the Reign of King Henry the Second to the Revolution Vol. II* (London: Payne and Foss, 1829), p. 47.

76   Natascha Wurzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550–1650* (trans. Gayna Walls) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 13.

77   Ar. I. 408, II. 388, IV. 297. (USTC 523895, 524378, 526622).

78   Ar. I. 234, II. 394, IV. 305. (UTSC 523337, 524401, 526653).

> The recreation to see how thoroughly the standers by are affected, what strange gestures come from them, what strained stuffe from their Poet, what shift they make to stand to heare, what extremities he is driven to for Rime, how they adventure their purses, he his wits, how well both their paines are recompenced, they with a silthy noise, hee with a base reward.[79]

Ultimately, it was these pedlars that were responsible for the spread of printed ballads across England.[80]

Ballads were clearly a multi-sensory experience and lost ballads represent not only a loss of text, but also the loss of a tune and image. The image and tune were vital parts of the ballad, providing additional meanings to the text.[81] Unfortunately, without an extant copy, there is no way to uncover the woodcuts used on lost ballads, especially if they were cut for a specific ballad.[82] Stationers preferred using woodcuts over other forms of illustration as, unlike metal engravings, the wooden blocks could be printed on the press at the same time as the type.[83] To further reduce costs, the same woodcut blocks would be used as illustrations for a number of different editions. The same image of a well-dressed woman with flowers appears in *A Quip for a scornfull Lasse* and *I tell you, JOHN JARRET, you'l breake*, both entered by Francis Grove in 1627 and 1630 respectively.[84]

Tunes were often well-known songs that would be re-used like the woodcuts. Surviving ballads rarely contained musical notation as people memorised the tunes. Even when ballads did contain notation, it was not always accurate.[85] One such example is the surviving *A newe ballade of a lover extolling*

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79   William Cornwallis, *Essayes* (London: Simon Stafford, and Richard Read, for Edmund Matts, 1600–1601), sig. I7*v*, EEBO. (USTC 3000472).

80   Tessa Watt, 'Publisher, Pedlar, Pot-Poet: The Changing Character of the Broadside Trade, 1550–1640', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (ed.), *Spreading the Word* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), p. 76.

81   Christopher Marsh, 'A Woodcut and Its Wanderings in Seventeenth-Century England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.2 (2016), p. 246, p. 259; Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 289.

82   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 148.

83   Helen Pierce, 'Images, Representation, and Counter-Representation', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 267.

84   Anon, *A Quip for a scornfull Lasse. Or, Three slips for a Tester* (London: for Francis Grove, 1627), EEBO. (USTC 3012959); Anon, *I tell you, John Jarret, you'l breake: Or, John Jarrets wives counsel to her husband, to have care to his estate in this hard time, lest he turne Bankerout* (London: Miles Flesher, for Francis Grove, 1630), EEBO. (USTC 3015082). Ar. IV. 173, 246.

85   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 33.

his ladye, to the tune of DAMON and PITHIAS (1568) where the notation print-
ed is two tones higher than the actual tune.[86] Critics of ballads claimed that
ballad-mongers had 'one tune in store that will indifferently serve for any dit-
ty', and indeed some entries were set to the same tune.[87] The song *Appelles*
was used for the lost ballad *Kynge pollicente to ye tune of APPELLES* entered
in 1565/66 and the surviving ballad of *Ye plaiges of Northumberlande &c* from
1569.[88] But as a general criticism, this was unfair. The work of Claude Simpson
showed that there were 1000 different broadside ballad tunes swirling around
in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, Simpson could only trace
musical notation for 400 of them.[89]

　　Stationers did not tend to include the tune when entering a ballad. Only
twenty-five (6%) of the entries reference a tune and a printed copy survives for
only one of these: *Please one and please all.*[90] Cross-referencing the tunes from
the lost titles with Claude Simpson's study shows that the musical notation for
just under half of these entries can be identified through other ballads, or later
editions. The tune *Bonny sweete Robin* from the lost ballad *A doleful adewe to
the last Erle of DARBY* (1594) was sung by Ophelia in *Hamlet* (1611) and matches
the sad epitaph:

> For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy.
> And will a not come againe,
> And will a not come againe,
> No, no, he is dead, goe to thy death bed,
> He never will come againe.[91]

Even though ten of the tunes entered in the Register are not listed in Simpson's
study, the tunes may survive under a different title. Tunes used in popular bal-
lads were often known by the name of the story or characters for which they
were most famous. Examples in the Register include: *Patient Gressell* (named

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86　M. Osborne, *A newe ballade of a lover extolling his ladye To the tune of Damon and Pithias*
　　(London: William Griffith, 1568), EEBO. (USTC 506839); Claude M. Simpson, *The British
　　Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1966),
　　pp. 157–158.

87　Brathwaite, *Whimzies: or, a new cast of characters*, p. 9.

88　Ar. I. 298, 409. (USTC 523510, 507066).

89　Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, p. xv.

90　Richard Tarlton, *A prettie newe ballad, intytled: the crowe sits upon the wall, please one and
　　please all To the tune of, please one and please all* (London: Henry Kirkham, 1592), EEBO.
　　(USTC 512276).

91　William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince on Denmarke* (London: George Eld,
　　for John Smethwick, 1611), sig. L2, EEBO. (USTC 3004614).

after the character Patient Grissel), *Appelles* (from Alexander and Appelles), and *Hutton's deldul* (highwayman Luke Hutton).[92] Also, *Was ever a man so test* [*lost?*] *in love* is on a work on Guy of Warwick, which itself became the name of a tune.[93] Six tunes entered in the Register cannot be linked to any surviving musical notation or to any extant ballads:

> *The tru Reporte in the prayse of my mistres to the tune of Siselis* (1569/70)
> *An exhortacon to to England to the tune of 'Ahlas and well adaie'* (1580)
> *A northerne songe of 'Ile awaie'* (1586)
> *A Sweete newe songe latelie made by a Souldier, and named it, 'The falle of follye'* (1588)
> *A ballad of betwixt life and death, the tune 'have with you into the cuntrey'* (1593)
> *The Saylers joye, to the tune of 'heigh ho hollidaie'* (1595).[94]

Given that a quarter of the ballad tunes entered in the Register cannot be traced to a surviving version, as with writers' names, we are forced to question how many more tunes have been lost.

Murder, Monarchy and Malcontents

The speed with which ballads could be entered, printed and disseminated made the ballad an excellent genre for responding to current events. One character from a contemporary play, *A Courtly Masque* (1620), highlighted the range of events his friend could report on if he became a ballad writer:

> Ile warrant thee thou shalt never want subject to write of. One hangs himselfe to day, another drownes himselfe to morrow, a Serjeant stabd next day, heere a Petti-fogger ath' Pillory, a Bawd in the Carts nose, and a Pander in the taile: *Hic Mulier, Haec Vir,* Fashions, Fictions, Fellonies, Fooleries, a hundred havens has the Ballad-monger to traffique at, and new ones still daily discovered.[95]

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92   Ar. I. 301, 312, III. 58. (USTC 523522, 523580, 525300).

93   Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, p. 283.

94   Ar. I. 403, II. 382, 454, 488, 636, 669. (USTC 523856, 524343, 524650, 524776, 525119, 525231).

95   Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, *A courtly masque: the device called the world tost at tennis As it hath beene divers times presented to the contentment of many noble and worthy spectators, by the prince his sevants. Invented, and set downe, by Tho: Middleton & William Rowley gent* (London: George Purslowe, sold by Edward Wright, 1620), sig. B4*v*, EEBO. (USTC 3009257).

From the 1580s to the 1620s, news was the most popular topic for ballads. There were also clear peaks in the number of ballad entries during and after major events; in particular, the Northern Rebellion 1569–70, the Spanish Armada 1588 and the Bishops' Wars 1639–40. These peaks also coincided with the rise in newsbooks in the 1590s which often covered similar events. These newsbooks are studied in more detail in Chapter 2.

Ballads about such current events were the most likely to survive. Even during the 1560s when the number of ballads entered covering current events was low (10%), the overall percentage that survived was relatively high (27%). Half of the twenty-two ballads entered on the Northern Rebellion in 1569 survived, while in the 1580s, 1588 is the only year that has a meaningful number of surviving ballads principally due to the four surviving items on the Spanish Armada.[96] Ballads were more likely to survive if they described a historic event. Studying extant ballads alone therefore overlooks the majority of ballads entered in the Register that covered more commonplace occurrences. These lost ballads are a forgotten commentary on social and political life at that time.

Titles of lost ballads reveal events that would otherwise be unknown. Courtier William Cornwallis in his *Essayes* (1600–01) hinted at there being certain events, such as deaths in battles, that 'may bee mentioned perhaps in a ballad, never in an historie'.[97] Three entries in the 1560s refer to the digging up of the Malborne (Malvern?) hills in 1565.[98] As none of these ballads survive, it is unclear what was happening in the hills or even where they were located. Only from a later book on husbandry do we get a description of the hills as wild and barren, suitable only for the rearing of goats.[99] Some of the events were at least mentioned in other surviving media. None of the seventy-three ballads on current events entered in the 1590s can be traced to a surviving copy, including all four ballads on the execution of John Parker and Agnes Bruen for the murder of John Bruen in 1592. The event, however, was mentioned in John Stow's *Summarie of Englyshe chronicles* (1618) explaining how 'a young man was hanged in Smithfield, and a woman was burnt, both for poisoning of her husband, a Goldsmith'.[100]

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96   ESTC S112605, S112608, S121795, S112606. (USTC 510938, 510954, 511072, 510939).

97   Cornwallis, *Essayes*, sig. Z8.

98   Ar. I. 270, 273, 293. (USTC 523440, 523469, 523473).

99   Gervase Markham, *Cheape and good husbandry for the well-ordering of all beasts, and fowles, and for the general cure of their disease Contayning the natures, breeding, choyse, use, feeding, and curing of the diseases of all manner of cattell, as horse, oxe, cow, sheeps, goates, swine, and tame-conies* (London: Thomas Snodham, for Roger Jackson, 1614), p. 81, EEBO. (USTC 3006136).

100   John Stow and Edmund Howes, *The Abridgement of the English Chronicle, first collected by M. John Stow, and after him augmented with very many memorable antiquities,*

Sometimes, surviving ballads provide only half of the story. A good example of this comes from the 1560s. The surviving ballad *The prayse and commendation of the viage of master STUKLAY* entered in 1562/63 described the brave journey being undertaken by Thomas Stucley to Florida.[101] Instead of going to Florida though, Stucley took his ships and went privateering, only to end up being arrested.[102] The story was continued with *A ballet made by one beyinge greatly impoverysshed by the viage prepared to Terra Floryday &c* entered in 1564, but unfortunately, as it is now lost, we cannot reveal how Stucley's change of plan impacted on his reputation in the popular prints.[103]

Different types of news appealed to different readers but this diversity of news items is obscured by the low survival rate. Events covered by ballads included sensational tales of murder, natural disasters and unusual occurrences as well as coverage of major historical events and the more regular royal occasions. Serious coverage of foreign events, such as the French Wars of Religion, generally remained the staple of other news media, although some foreign incidents could still be found in ballad form. In 1639 there were thirteen entries for ballads on sea fights between Hollanders and Spaniards during the Thirty Years War, most notably, the Battle of the Downs, which was a decisive Dutch victory against Papist Spain.[104] On 15 October 1639, six ballads on this battle were entered by six different stationers:

> Thomas Lambert *A lamentable relacion or second fearefull seafight &c*
> Henry Gosson *Two famous Sea fightes betwixt the Hollanders and* [*the*] *Spaniards*
> John Stafford *A New Spanish Tragedy or the late fight betwixt the Spaniards and Hollanders*
> John Wright Junior *A tragicall Narracion of a late seafight &c*
> Francis Grove *A Second Bloody seafight &c*
> Richard Harper *More Newes from the narrowe seas*.[105]

Eleven out of the thirteen ballads entered on battles at sea during the Thirty-Years War cannot be traced to a surviving copy.

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and continued with matters forreine and domesticall, unto the beginning of the yeare, 1618 (London: Edward Allde, and Nicholas Okes, for the Company of Stationers, 1618), p. 392, EEBO. (USTC 3008218).

101   Ar. I. 215. (USTC 506194).

102   Peter Holmes, 'Stucley, Thomas (c.1520–1578)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26741> [23 August 2016].

103   Ar. I. 263. (USTC 523405).

104   Ar. IV. 457, 478, 480, 484, 493.

105   Ar. IV. 484.

Not all of the ballads were written on real events or contained accurate reports.[106] Contemporary poet Richard Brathwaite said of ballad writers:

> Hee ha's a singular gift of *imagination*, for hee can descant on a man's *execution* long before his confession. Nor comes his *Invention* farre short of his *Imagination*; for want of truer relations, for a neede he can finde you out a *Sussex Dragon*, some sea or inland monster, drawne out by some *Shoelane* man in a *Gorgon-like* feature, to enforce more horror in the beholder.[107]

The lost titles certainly illustrate some fantastic tales. These include A *northerne mans reporte of the wonderfull greate snowe in the southerne partes but most specially of many mervailous monsters yat he sawe in London with other Mischances &c* (1579), *A ballad of a strange and monstruous fishe seene in the sea on friday the 17 of february 1603* [*i.e. 1604*] (1604), *A songe of a childe of th'age of 9 yeares called JOHN SHUTE who was possessed with spirituall thoughtes &c* (1612) and A *ballett of the manner of the killing of the serpent in Sussex* (1614).[108] The final ballad is likely to have concerned the famous Sussex Dragon referred to in the quote, descriptions of which survive in a news pamphlet.[109]

Interestingly, despite historians often focusing on news of strange occurrences, there are only twenty ballads entered on strange sights and four on monstrous births. Entries in the Stationers' Register suggest a greater contemporary interest in bad weather, such as floods and frosts, events that were likely to have a bigger impact on people's daily lives. There were twelve ballads on fires alone, with Tiverton burning down in both 1598 and 1612.[110] The threat of fire would have been a constant for most people, with one fire or one bad harvest having the capacity to devastate an area and lead to a loss of livelihood. One surviving ballad, *The arraignment of JOHN FFLODER for burneing the towne of Windham in Norfolke*, entered on 26 September 1615, demonstrated the harsh punishment handed to those found guilty of arson:

> His hated body still on Earth remaines,
> (A shame unto his kin) hangd up in Chaines:

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106   Frances E. Dolan, 'Mopsa's Method: Truth Claims, Ballads, and Print', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.2 (2016), pp. 173–185.

107   Brathwaite, *Whimzies: or, a new cast of characters*, p. 9.

108   Ar. II. 347, III. 263, 491, 553. (USTC 524151, 525614, 525882, 525962).

109   Andrew Hadfield, 'News of the Sussex Dragon', in Simon F. Davies and Puck Fletcher, *News in Early Modern Europe: Currents and Connections* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 83–95.

110   Ar. III. 113, 492. (USTC 525377, 525886).

> And must at all no other Buriall have,
> But Crowes & Ravens mawes to make his grave.[111]

A fifth of all ballads entered on current events related to crimes, murders and executions, with the entrance of crime ballads at a peak in the 1590s. Looking at extant ballads alone, however, hides the early development and availability of this popular genre as while the crime ballads documented in the Stationers' Register were split roughly half and half between the centuries, none of the five entries that can be traced to a surviving copy come from the sixteenth century. Lost titles include *Ye fatall farewell of Captaine GILBERT HORSLEY conveied out of ye Counter in a clokebag and notwithstanding condemned for pyracy and executed* entered in 1579, *A mournefull dyttie towchinge a robberie commytted upon certaine Curriers of London* from 1583 and *A ballad of [a] Lamentable Murther Donne in Yorkeshire by a gent[leman] uppon 2 of his owne Children sore woundinge his Wyfe and Nurse* entered in 1605.[112] Crimes resulting in capital punishments were generally the ones that made it into print, with only two lost ballads mentioning shaming punishments as opposed to burning, hanging or beheading: *A pleasant newe ballad wherein is discryde howe Three persons for Lechery through London did ryde* (1590) and *A ballad shewinge how a fond woman falsely accused her self to be the kinge of Spaines daughter and beinge founde a lyer was for the same whipped through London the xiiijth of December 1592 beinge known to be a butchers daughter of London* (1592).[113]

Murder was a popular topic for ballads, although only three of the ballad titles actually mention the method of murder, viz: with an axe, a dagger and poison.[114] Unfortunately, all twenty-four ballads entered in the Register with the word murder in the title are lost, as are a large number of works on executions that may have been as a result of killings. These titles of lost ballads raise a couple of issues. For those titles that refer to the relationship of the murderer to the victim, the stories focus on family members killing each other, with four entries on wives killing husbands, but only one about a husband killing his wife. This is interesting as contemporary records demonstrate that the overwhelming majority of domestic murders were perpetrated by husbands.[115]

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111   Ar. III. 573. Anon, *The Araignement of John Flodder and his wife, at Norwidge, with the wife of one Bicks, for burning the Towne of Windham in Norfolke, upon the xi. day of June last 1615. Where two of them are now executed, and the third reprived upon further confession* (London: William White, for John Trundle, 1615), EBBA 20056. (USTC 3006649).

112   Ar. II. 363, 427, III. 295. (USTC 524237, 524529, 525663).

113   Ar. II. 546, 624. (USTC 524920, 525093).

114   Ar. II. 526, 623, III. 401. (USTC 524879, 525090, 525789).

115   Vanessa McMahon, *Murder in Shakespeare's England* (London: Hambledon, 2004), p. 69.

However, because wives killing husbands was regarded as a more horrific event, punishable as treason, it was a more sensational tale for the readers.[116] Additionally, whereas ballads related a wide variety of crimes for which men were executed, those relating to women almost exclusively related to murder.

As we shall see in the next chapter, domestic political news was a risky topic to print and only triumphant victories against Papist foes and the execution of rebels and traitors were deemed acceptable subjects. Plots against the monarch, for instance, were not widely published in ballad form, with only a couple on the Throckmorton Plot in 1584 and only four on the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. Even then, these ballads focused on celebrating the monarch's survival and the execution of the traitors, rather than risk reporting the actual event. The only exceptions were major historical events such as the Northern Rebellion, the Spanish Armada and the Bishops' War which each inspired around twenty ballads. Out of the sixty-eight ballads covering these three historical events, three-quarters do not survive. Looking at the ballad genre as a whole, this is a relatively low rate of loss, but it amounts to over fifty lost titles. It is not immediately clear why some ballads covering major events survive but others do not. The 50% survival rate of ballads printed on the Northern Rebellion is very rare, even for ballads on major historical events. One possible explanation is that ballads celebrating certain moments within the timeline of an event were more collectible than others. The two ballads entered on Elizabeth's speech at Tilbury during the crisis of the Spanish Armada survive.

The death and coronations of monarchs were not usual topics for ballads, and tended to be described in more detail in other genres of print. The only exceptions were the lost ballads entered on the funeral of James's eldest son and heir Henry following his sudden death in 1612:

> 05.12.1612 William Barley *A far[e]well to Prince HENRY or his funerall teares shedd by his Country for his lyves deare losse &c*
> 07.12.1612 Henry Lea *Englandes sorowe for the death of the Most Vertuous and pierles HENRY FFRIDERICK prince of WALES eldest son to our sovereign lord kinge JAMES. Who Deceased the 6 of December [or rather November] 1612 at Sainct James house*
> 07.12.1612 William Barley *A Complaynt againste Death for taking away the highe and hopeful Prince HENRY of great Brittayne with the manner of his funeral*

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116   Simone Chess, "'And I my vowe did keepe": Oath Making, Subjectivity, and Husband Murder in "Murderous Wife Ballads"', in Fumerton and Guerrini (eds.), *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain*, p. 134.

> 11.12.1612 Thomas Pavier *The first and second parte of the Lyfe and deathe of the late noble prince HENRY, with the order of his funeral*
>
> 17.12.1612 Thomas Pavier *A lamentacon for ye Death of prince HENRY.*[117]

Henry's death clearly garnered attention, and it is interesting to note that, excluding ballads, 81% of the books published on Henry's death and funeral have survived.[118]

Ballads also covered events that occurred on a regular or annual basis. A royal wedding was good at capturing the imagination, with six lost ballads in 1613 following the marriage between Prince Frederick of Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth.[119] Numerous lost ballads also concerned visits by the Queen and the Kings to Parliament, visits by foreign royalty and the annual tilt celebrating the anniversary of the monarch's accession to the throne. There was a particular flurry of ballads describing visits by the king to Parliament in 1640 at a time of rising tensions between Charles I and Parliament. Only one of the seven entries survives to describe one of the processions:

> The next and last in honours seat
> Was he who made the show compleat,
> Our gracious King, our *Charles* the Great,
> Our joys sweet complement,
> Did ride in state to open sight,
> The royall band of Pensioners wait
> About him with guilt Polaxes bright
> *Unto the Parliament.*[120]

It is prophetic that the last ballad entry was the lost *Englands Rejoycing for the kings goeing to Parliament*, entered 21 October 1640, given the country would soon fall into civil war.[121]

Events in ballads were not always celebrations. Plague was a frequent problem in early modern England, with lost titles indicating epidemics in 1563, 1579, 1593, 1603, 1604 and 1608. Paul Slack has already shown the importance of

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117   Ar. III. 506, 507, 508. (USTC 525907, 525908, 525909, 525910, 525911).

118   Hill, 'The Lamentable Tale of Lost Ballads in England, 1557–1640', p. 442.

119   Ar. III. 512, 514, 515, 520, 524. (USTC 525916, 525920, 525921, 525922, 525930, 525932).

120   M.P., *An exact description of the manner how His Majestie and his nobles went to Parliament, on Munday, the thirteenth day of Aprill, 1640, to the comfortable expectation of all loyall subjects to the tune of Triumph and joy, &c* (London: sold by Thomas Lambert, 1640), EEBO. (USTC 3021520).

121   Ar. IV. 524. (USTC 527152).

print in spreading beliefs on the causes and cures of plagues, and even when plague was not specifically mentioned, the results of it still appeared in the ballad titles.[122] Three lost ballads mentioned how the Michaelmas term in 1593 had to be moved to Saint Albans because of plague in London.[123] Stationers would have found this particularly annoying as the coming together of lawyers and courts for the term was one of the busiest times for releasing new books, 'whose Titles each Terme on the Posts are rear'd,/In such abundance'.[124]

Religion and the Right Way to Behave

Religion was an inherent part of everyday life in early modern England making it a prime topic for ballads. With over 200 religious ballad titles entered in the 1560s alone, it was the dominant topic through the years 1560 to 1580. Even in ballads on contemporary events, the evils of plague and famine were often said to be invoked by God's judgement. A lost example was *A warninge to England with speede to Repente for the greate scarssetye and want that now is and like this yeare ensuinge to be &c* entered by Thomas Millington in 1595.[125] The majority of religious ballads focused on the lamentation of sinners, calls to repent and the coming of Judgement Day. For some unknown reason, the lost ballad *Mans fyckle state &c*, entered 1 August 1586, was singled out in the Register as 'tendinge to drive men from evil'.[126]

Despite religion being the theme of ballads most frequently entered, very few religious ballads have survived. In the 1580s, 30% of ballads entered were religious in nature, yet none of these entries can be traced to a surviving copy. Religious ballads often had an additional educational purpose. This made them more likely to be destroyed, especially when they were placed on walls as mnemonic devices for the family to remember scripture and commandments.[127] For example, far fewer ballads on scripture survive

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122   Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 24.

123   Ar. ii. 637, 639, 640. (USTC 525120, 525131, 525138).

124   R.B. McKerrow, *The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher* (London: George Bell and Sons & A.H. Bullen, 1904), p. 293; John Davies, *A scourge for paper-persecutors. Or Papers complaint, compil'd in ruthful rimes, against the paper-spoylers of these times. By I.D. With a continu'd just inquisition of the same subject, fit for this season. Against paper-persecutors. By A.H.* (London: for Henry Holland, and George Gibbes, 1625), EEBO. (USTC 3012143).

125   Ar. ii. 296. (USTC 525253).

126   Ar. ii. 450. (USTC 524591).

127   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 251.

compared with those ridiculing the Pope and papists. Additionally, none of the three ABC ballads survive, but this is too small a number to certify the role of educational use on the disintegration of non-religious ballads. What is clear is that the 5% survival rate masks how people in early modern England were interacting with the changing attitudes of the church and how print was being used to spread religious ideas.

Religious ballads had an important moral function. 20% of religious ballads focused specifically on encouraging moral behaviour, often writing 'agaynste' a certain action or behaviour, such as *A godly ballett agaynste fornication &c* entered in 1564/65, now lost.[128] Most expounded on the dangers of swearing, drinking, gambling and usury, although a couple of lost titles focused on the dangers of fine clothing with ballads *Agaynste great hose* (1570/71) and *An admonycon to bewtyes darlinges wherein is pythelye descrybed the vanytye of vayne apparel* (1589).[129] Clothing was an important indicator of status in the early modern period, but pride and vanity were sins that needed to be corrected. Some of the lost ballads even targeted specific groups, such as *A Warnynge to all maydes that Brewes thayre owne bane &c* entered in 1565/66.[130] Only six of these ballads on moral behaviour survive.

An awareness of sin was vital for salvation, with 10% of the religious ballads entered in the Register containing the word 'sin' or 'sinner' in the title.[131] Only two, one from 1562/63, the other from 1634, can be traced to a surviving copy.[132] The Register contains numerous lost examples; S*poyled in synnes o Lorde a wretched synnful gooste* entered in 1564/65, *A prayer or petycon to almightie GOD throughe Christe to forgyve us our sinnes and to Receyve us to his mercye* from 1579, *A ballad wherein is shewen the greate abuses of this presents age shewinge how godlines modesty and vertuous life is utterlie exiled and put to silence, and all manner of sinne and evill vices most highelye advanced &c* from 1590, and *The Sinners sorrow*, entered in 1636.[133] Sin was also linked to the coming of Judgement Day. Unfortunately, none of the twenty-five ballads entered on the coming of the day of judgement survive.

The dramatic rise and decline of religious ballads entered in the Register during this time highlights the changing attitudes towards belief in early modern England. Tessa Watt argued that the huge number of religious ballads

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128   Ar. I. 270. (USTC 523442).

129   Ar. I. 436, II. 520. (USTC 523960, 524865).

130   Ar. I. 293. (USTC 523477).

131   Peter Lake, 'Religion and Cheap Print', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 227.

132   Ar. I. 205, IV. 331. (USTC 506113, 3017295).

133   Ar. I. 271, II. 348, 557, IV. 355. (USTC 523460, 524164, 524948, 526743).

during the 1560s and 1570s was due to godly writers using ballads to spread the Protestant religion.[134] Ian Green, however, suspected that because none of the ballads concerned the main doctrines of the faith, writers were simply using religion as a topic, rather than as a means to promote Protestant ideas.[135] It is difficult from the titles alone to assess the godliness of their content. Even so, the fact that half of all the ballads on religious behaviour and scripture were entered in the 1560s suggests a high level of engagement with religious teachings and moral values during the decade.

The fashion for 'moralising' works was certainly at its peak in the late 1560s, with none entered after 1592. Moralised works were ballads which had been given a religious makeover, the majority of which can be traced to their earlier, less moral roots. The lost ballad *Roows well ye marynors &c*, entered in 1565/66, spawned five lost moralised versions in the following few years.[136] Sometimes this led to strange titles, such as the lost *Whan Ragenge lustes moralyzed* (1568/69), based on the lost ballad *Whan Ragynge love* first entered a decade earlier, and *'GREENE SLEVES' moralised to the Scripture Declaringe the manifold benefites and blessinges of GOD bestowed on sinfull manne* (1580).[137] Unfortunately, as only one of the nineteen moralised ballads survives, we cannot compare these godly ballads against their profane originals.

The smaller number of religious ballads in the years after the 1580s is consistent with Watt's argument that there was a decline in godly ballads as Calvinism became stronger.[138] Ballads entered post-1580s however, were not radically different from those entered during the peak of religious ballads. There was still the same mix of ballads on death, judgement and moral teachings. One of the only two ballads to survive from the 1590s reflected on man's fate and the ultimate power of God:

> Let everye man if he be wise,
> (respecting not this worldly fame)
> With judgment depe, and grave advice,
> marke well this glasse, for in the same,
> A perfecte picture (as I weene)
> Of mannes fraile nature maye be seene.[139]

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134 Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 55.

135 Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 455.

136 Ar. I. 305, 340, 355, 360, 362. (USTC 523545, 523656, 523689, 523715, 523716, 523727).

137 Ar. I. 383, 75, II. 378. (USTC 523781, 523022, 524312).

138 Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 55.

139 Thomas Johnson, *A lokinge glasse for eche estate, wherin to weve the fickle fate* (London: Abel Jeffes, sold by William Barley, 1595), EEBO. (USTC 512879).

The largest decline came in the number of ballads entered concerning scripture and sin. The peak for ballads based on stories from the scriptures was in the late 1560s, with works based on the Old Testament outnumbering those on the New Testament by almost 2:1. It is likely the Old Testament had a wider range of characters and stories that could be exploited by the writers without fear of controversy. Lost examples include *Kynge SALOMAN* from 1560, *A godly ballett taken out of ye iiijth chapeter of TOBEAS* entered in 1568/69 and *The moste famous historye of JUDITH and [H]OLOFERNES* entered in 1588.[140] By the seventeenth century, only a tiny number of titles entered had a link to scripture or contained the word sin.

The only theme of religious ballad that increased in prevalence during the seventeenth century was anti-papism. At the high point of religious ballads in the sixteenth century, anti-papist works accounted for only 2% of religious ballads entered in the Register. After 1600, they represented 10% of the entries. This is still a surprisingly small number, and is probably because a large amount of the anti-papist sentiment was contained instead in the ballads on current events. Anti-Catholic ballads were often influenced by events such as the Northern Rebellion 1569 and the Gunpowder Plot trials and executions in 1606. Lost ballads entered on the Spanish Armada speak of 'the Defence of the true religion' and 'the glorious victory of Christ Jesus, as was late seene by th[e] overthrowe of the Spanyardes'.[141] A couple of anti-Catholic ballads also made references to events in France and the Low Countries, with a partial surviving example from 1566 containing the lines 'And now ye Hugonites, w[ith] the Beggers together, With al force they may are pulling at the rest'.[142]

'A triall of Skill betwixt man and wife': The Roles of Men and Women[143]

Ballads containing tales of well-known characters, daily life and love account for about half of the overall ballad entries. Ballads on love, marriage and courtship never dominated the ballad entries, but they survived better than others because the peak in their production coincided with the peak in ballad survival in the 1630s. Cultural historians have often used these ballads to

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140   Ar. I. 127, 378, II. 487. (USTC 523094, 523751, 524772).
141   Ar. II. 494, 505. (USTC 527576, 524820).
142   Anon, [*The plucking down of the romish church*] (London: John Awdely, 1566), EEBO. (USTC 506442).
143   Ar. IV. 303. (USTC 526645).

understand more about the place of men and women in early modern society, though it is debateable how far they truly represented early modern life as opposed to presenting stereotypes.[144] Also, as only 9% of entries concerning the roles of men and women survive, there are likely to be significant gaps in the knowledge the extant copies can provide.

Ballads have been used as evidence of misogyny in early modern popular culture because of their apparently negative portrayal of women.[145] This interpretation certainly seems plausible when considering lost ballad titles such as *God send me a wyffe that will Do as I saye* (1556/58) or *All men whose wyves will not love them well, Muste carrye them into India to dwell* (1588).[146] More recent work on ballads and jest books by Pamela Allen Brown, however, illustrated how literature did not necessarily reflect the attitudes of the reader, and that women were just as receptive to ballads as men.[147] Women were therefore an important audience to entertain, as is shown by lost titles such as *A merry newe ballad Declaringe that Women will have their Will and Intituled 'I hold you a groate the wyfe will have yt'* from 1605 and *The good husbands alphabet* entered in 1640.[148]

The poor level of survival may have played a large part in distorting perceptions of the representation of men and women in ballads. Examining the entries of surviving ballads gives the impression that ballads on the subjects of bachelorhood and cuckoldry were produced in equal numbers. Looking at the entries in the Register overall shows this was not true. While 31% of ballads on cuckoldry or women subverting the roles of men in marriage have survived, only 7% of ballad entries on bachelors can be traced to a surviving copy. The survival rates clearly over-represent the number of ballads on women usurping the power of men and give a false impression of some of the key themes within the genre.

Similarly, ballads with male protagonists have a lower survival rate compared to those with a female figure in the title. This means ballads with male characters dominate the list of lost titles, from great kings in history, to contemporary tales of serving men, prisoners and bachelors. Titles include *A pleasaunte history of an adventurus knyghte of kynges ARTHURS Couurte* (1565/66),

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144   Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect before her: A History of Women in Western Europe. Volume 1: 1500–1800* (London: Harper Collins, 1995), p. 25.

145   Martin Ingram, 'Who killed Robin Hood? Transformations in Popular Culture', in Susan Doran and Norman Jones (eds.), *The Elizabethan World* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), p. 463.

146   Ar. I. 76, II. 492. (USTC 523030, 524785).

147   Pamela Allen Brown, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama, and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England* (London: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 2.

148   Ar. III. 294, IV. 503. (USTC 525661, 527055).

Lustye LAWRENCE (1594) and *DANIELL of Devonshire his progresse to London* (1635).[149] These entries also show how tales and characters were re-used over the decades; *TOM LONGE ye Caryer* was entered in 1561/62 and entered again in 1633 as *TOM LONG the Carrier*.[150]

Ballads featured female roles from all stages of life; maids and daughters, wives and mothers, and finally, widows and matrons. There were light-hearted tales such as the two part story of the *Wanton Wife of Westminster* (1597) and *A pleasant new ballet of an unpleasant old woman* (1623), as well as pathetic dramas showing examples of female behaviour, from *The woman that was constrayned to eate hyr sonne for hunger &c* (1567/68) to *A most excellent example of a vertuous wife, that fed her father with her owne milke beinge Condemned to be famished to deathe* (1596), now all lost.[151] The lack of female roles in recent history and legends meant that well-known female characters often came from classical literature. There were some contemporary female heroines such as Long Meg of Westminster, a tavern owner who tackled and defeated unsavoury characters with her physical strength.[152] Unfortunately, neither of the two ballads entered on Long Meg in the 1590s can be traced to a surviving copy.

Unlike women, male characters were most frequently referred to in terms of their occupation, rather than as fathers, sons or boys. Mark Hailwood argued that ballads could be used to understand male occupations and tradesmen's perceptions of themselves.[153] He believed that a large number of surviving seventeenth-century ballads referred to urban occupations because urban tradesmen were the main buyers of ballads.[154] In the sixteenth century, however, non-urban trades dominated the ballad titles; the most frequent occupations quoted in the ballad entries for 1557–1640 were soldier, sailor and shepherd. It was only in the seventeenth century that an equal number of ballads were entered on urban tradesmen. Overall, over thirty occupations were mentioned in the titles including *Pedler and his packe* (1568/69), *A Dysputacon of twoo faythefull Lovers, In prayse of Taylors and Commendacon of Glovers* (1585) and *The drunken Piper of Taunton &c* (1633), all lost.[155] One surviving

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149   Ar. I. 297, II. 653, IV. 331. (USTC 523502, 525174, 526720).

150   Ar. I. 177, IV. 302. (USTC 523159, 526644).

151   Ar. III. 86, IV. 101, I. 363, III. 64. (USTC 525341, 525342, 526252, 523737, 525308).

152   Bernard Capp, '"Long Meg of Westminster": A mystery solved', *Notes and Queries*, 45.3 (1998), p. 302.

153   Mark Hailwood, '"The Honest Tradesman's Honour": Occupational and Social Identity in Seventeenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 24 (2014), pp. 79–104.

154   *Ibid.*, p. 85.

155   Ar. I. 386, II. 440, IV. 311. (USTC 527539, 524566, 526681).

ballad, *A newe ballad Composed in commendacon of the Societie or Company of the porters*, entered 15 June 1605, was even written to celebrate the Company's recent incorporation.[156] The increasing number of urban professions used in ballads could reflect the increased urbanisation of the period or it may simply signal a move away from the more traditional characters which dominated the ballads of the sixteenth century.

Unsurprisingly, given the main role of women in the house, female occupations apart from that of mother or housewife were rarely mentioned in ballad titles. With a grand total of three ballads, milkmaid was the main female occupation in the ballads; *A Defence of mylke maydes agaynste the terme of MAWKEN* (1563/64), *The Milke maides Life* (1634) and *The two Merry Milkemaids* (1638).[157] The only other lost titles that contained a female occupation were *The complaynte of a mayde in London Declarynge hyr trubbles to over pass [to exceed] the [ap]pryntes lyfe[,] and affyrmyng the same by hyr ungentle Rewardes* entered in 1563/64, *The oysters wifes songe* from 1614 and *The maides of Haddon turned Barbers* entered in 1640.[158] Even though women were not imprisoned in the house by their duties, there are plenty more ballad titles that refer to men meeting in pubs and friendship between males, than those that focus on women congregating together.[159]

Marriage and courtship are the best topics to explore the relationship between men and women in early modern ballads. As the lost ballad *Shewing how maryage ys both parydice and also purgatory &c* (1565/66) demonstrates, choosing the right person to settle down with was an important decision.[160] For men, 'A wife at the worst (as I told you before)/ [was] a drunkard, a swearer, a scold, theefe, or whore'.[161] Lost titles such as *Fayne wolde I have a vertuous wyfe adourned with all modeste bothe mylde and make of quyett lyf esteemynge chef hyr chastetye* (1566/67), along with *A settinge foorth of the variety of mens mindes esteaminge rather welth with a wanton wife then vertue in a moderate mayde* (1582) developed this theme.[162] Examples of women choosing husbands were few and far between, with *A mayde forsakynge hyr lover to mary*

156   Ar. III. 292. (USTC 3002032).

157   Ar. I. 238, IV. 315, 415. (USTC 523368, 3017206, 526865).

158   Ar. I. 235, III. 557, IV. 524. (USTC 523342, 525973, 527151).

159   J.A. Sharpe, 'Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England: Some Evidence from Popular Literature', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 36 (1986), p. 80.

160   Ar. I. 311. (USTC 523577).

161   M.P., *The marryed mans lesson: or, A disswasion from jealousie. To the tune of, All you that will wooe a wench* (London: Elizabeth Allde, for John Wright the Younger, 1634), EEBO. (USTC 3017199).

162   Ar. I. 34, II. 412. (USTC 523666, 524461).

with a servyngman (1562/63), *Shall I Wed an Aged man / with a complaynte of a Wedowe agaynste an olde man* (1564) and *A Dialoge betwene a mayde of the Cetye and a mayde of the Cuntrye a bowte chosyng of husboundes* (1565/66).[163] At least when it came to complaining about the other half, both husband and wife were represented, with the lost ballads *The Married Mans mo[a]ne* and *The Married Womans moane* entered by the same stationer in the 1630s.[164]

In his study of surviving seventeenth-century ballads and jest books, J.A. Sharpe demonstrated that, even though the ballads identified specific male and female roles within a marriage, both partners were expected to pull their weight.[165] A surviving ballad *The woman to the plow and the man to the Hen rust* [*i.e. henroost*], entered 22 June 1629, played on the roles of husband and wife by having them swap jobs as both believed they could do better than the other.[166] After a series of mishaps on both sides the husband concluded:

> I thee intreat quoth he good Wife,
> To take thy charge, and all my life,
> Ile never meddle with Huswivery more,
> Nor find such faults as I did before,
> Give me the Car-whip and the Flaile,
> Take thou the Chyrn and Milking-pail.[167]

The entries confirm this representation of marriage was also true of sixteenth-century ballads. In contrast, men who were unwilling to marry were much better represented in ballads entered in the seventeenth century. Out of the fourteen ballads on bachelors, only four were entered in the previous century. Older unmarried women were only alluded to in the entries if they were widows.

Printers, Publishers, Booksellers and Ballads

Lost ballads represent not just lost texts, but also the loss of knowledge about the people who printed, published and sold them. As paper was one of the

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163   Ar. I. 214, 263, 315. (USTC 523303, 523402, 523595).

164   Ar. IV. 366, 408. (USTC 526771, 526846).

165   Sharpe, 'Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England', p. 78.

166   Ar. IV. 216. (USTC 3014121).

167   M.P., *The woman to the plow and the man to the hen-roost; or, A fine way to cure a cot-quean. The tune is, I have for all good wives a song* (London: for Francis Grove, 1629), EEBO. (USTC 3014121).

biggest costs for printers, ballads offered one of the quickest and cheapest ways to present work to the public.[168] While a larger work could take days, weeks, or even years to print all the pages in order, single-sheet items could be completed within a day. Ballads were also a safe investment as they were often sold by pedlars, meaning a stationer did not have the risk of selling all the stock himself.[169] These pedlars travelled across the country selling cheap print and other small items.[170] As one contemporary commented:

> there be a company of idle youths … in every corner of Cities & market Townes of the Realme singing and selling of ballads and pamphlets full of ribauldrie … especially at faires markets and such publik[…] meetings.[171]

This made ballads a popular genre for the members of the Stationers' Company, helping them supplement the investment costs of larger projects.[172]

Entering works jointly with another stationer also helped spread the risk. Along with the ballad partnership, fifty-seven ballad entries were entered by two or three people. Usually, one person was a printer and the other was a bookseller or publisher. This includes thirty-one ballads entered in 1557/58 by printer John Walley and the publisher widow Elizabeth Toy.[173] There are only seven years where there are no ballads entered in the Register and, overall, 174 different stationers entered ballads over the period. Less than a third of the stationers, however, have a surviving ballad entered to their name.

The majority of stationers entered one or two ballads at a time, although some entered multiple titles at once, particularly in the 1560s and 1630s. Often this would be four or five, but on twelve occasions, ten or more ballads were entered. On 4 September 1564, William Pickering entered twenty ballads:

> A ballet of *the Lorde WENTFORDE*
> *A complaynte of the Wecked enymes of CHRISTE*
> *Shewynge ye very Cause and Remedy of the Dearth*
> *The erydyfynge* [i.e. *the re-edifying*] *of SALOMANs temple*

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168   D.F. Mckenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557–1700: Constraints on the London Book Trade', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 556.

169   Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 233.

170   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 28.

171   Chettle, *Kind-harts dreame*, sig. C.

172   Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 161.

173   Ar. I. 75–76.

Then and in those Dayes then I saye then / the glory of GOD shall appere
to all men
An epytaphe upon ye Deathe of J BRADFORDE
Awake awake o thow man mortall
A ballet of *a myller I am*
An Instruction of a father to his cheldren
Yf ever I marrye I will marrye a mayde
The sprete ye flesshe ye worlde and the Devell
I will have a Wedowe yf ever I marrye
A saynge betwene the queen and Englonde / Called comme over the browne
BESSYE to me
A ballet *London hath no pere a*
The Countrye hath no pere a
Remembre man bothe nyghte and Daye / thowe muste nedes Dye thayre ys
no nay &c
Aske mercy man for thy greate synne
Such as may Wed at Will and Dubble at every letter &c
Who loveth to leve in peace and market every chanche &c
Shall I Wed an Aged man / with *a complaynte of a Wedowe agaynste an*
olde man.[174]

The list shows that Pickering did not specialise on ballads of one particular type though, unsurprisingly for the 1560s, the majority had a religious theme.

We also see some crossover between ballads and other genres of print. Fifteen ballads were entered with newsbooks, such as on 22 November 1593 when John Wolfe entered *A booke of newes of Twoo angels that came before the Cytie of Droppa in S[i]lesia* along with *A ballad of the same Twoo angelles.*[175] Even when not specifically listed, the same topics appeared in newsbooks at the same time as they did in ballads. In 1615, John Trundle entered a ballad on *A murder in Lancashire revealed by A Calfe.*[176] Six months later, Trundle entered a newsbook on the same topic, *Newes out of Lancashire or the strang[e] and miraculous revelacon of a murther by a ghost a Calf a pigeon &c.*[177] It is a pity that neither the ballads nor the newsbooks on the angels or murder survive. The only time a ballad was explicitly linked to a non-news work was when John Danter entered a ballad for *TITUS ANDRONICUS* in 1594 at the same time he

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174   Ar. I. 262, 263.
175   Ar. II. 640. (USTC 525136, 525137).
176   Ar. III. 564. (USTC 525983).
177   Ar. III. 572. (USTC 525990).

Name	Total	Surviving ballads (%)	Lost ballads (%)
Thomas Lambert (fl. 1633–1669)	112	24 (21)	88 (79)
Edward White Snr (fl. 1572–1613)	112	0 (0)	112 (100)
Francis Grove (fl. 1623–1661)	109	18 (17)	91 (83)
Thomas Colwell (fl. 1560–1575)	105	7 (7)	98 (93)
Richard Jones (fl. 1564–1613)	88	6 (7)	82 (93)
John Allde (fl. 1555–1584)	83	8 (10)	75 (90)
William Griffith (fl. 1552–1571)	79	5 (6)	74 (94)

FIGURE 1.3 *Most active ballad producers by number of entries in the Stationers' Register, 1557–1640.*

entered the book.[178] Either he was using the same story for slightly different audiences and to get the most money out of the tale, or the ballad worked as a form of advertising for the larger work.[179]

The most active stationers entered significant numbers of ballads. Figure 1.3 shows the top ballad producers by number of entries in the Register. These stationers account for only a third of all ballads entered in the Register, but over 40% of the surviving ballads. The surviving works therefore obscure the sheer number of stationers participating in ballad production.

Survival rates varied between the most active producers. The work of only two ballad publishers, Lambert and Grove, survive in more than ten examples, while none of White's ballads have survived. With 112 entries over a period of thirty-five years White was clearly highly productive and this large sequence of entries is a further indication that stationers were unlikely to be entering titles they never got round to printing. The low rate of ballad survival also has implications for the overall perception of a stationers' output. White and Colwell have a respectable number of surviving works of a larger size and format as evidence of their book production. Lambert though mainly dealt with pamphlets and ballads, neither of which survived well. In fact, only one book entered by Lambert survives. The survey of lost items in the Stationers' records shows that he was a far more considerable publisher than has ever previously been recognised.

It is clear from the entries that none of the most active ballad producers solely printed ballads, and that the ratio between ballads and other printed works

178   Ar. II. 644. (USTC 512653, 525148).
179   McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', p. 342.

varied between the stationers. Thomas Lambert had the highest percentage as 88% of his entries were ballads, compared with only 39% of Richard Jones' entries. Some stationers were clearly more reliant on ballads than others, but outside of the ballad partnership there was no real specialisation.

Ballads were a popular genre for stationers for many reasons, not least the capacity to stretch a successful title into a series. A good way of doing this was to print answers. John Danter entered two ballads on 19 October 1593, *The Lovers lamentation &c* and *The maydens wittye answere to ye same*.[180] It was not always the same stationer that entered the answer. Thomas Colwell entered the ballad *Hay the gye* in 1561/62, while Hugh Singleton entered *An answere agaynste hay the gye* a few entries later.[181] Colwell continued with *The over throwe given to the Dysprayse of Hay the gye* for which he was fined for printing in 1562.[182] The 'haydeguies' was a type of country dance, but as none of the ballads survive, it is unclear why the stationers kept printing answers.[183] Answers were entered even when the original ballad was not. Simon Stafford in 1604 entered a ballad entitled *An Answere to a fond lascivious songe intituled 'And Arte thou comme againe and sadist th[ou] [w]ould come ne more'*, now lost.[184]

Another way to make the most out of a story was to split it into two parts. John Wolfe entered a ballad on the 18 April 1592 of *ROWLANDES godson moralized*, and entered the second part eleven days later.[185] These ballads would encourage readers to buy the next instalment by ending with enticing lines. An edition of *The first part of the Marchant's daughter of Bristowe* (1602) ends:

> Thus to the Sea faire *Maudlin* is gone,
> With her gentle Maister, God send them a merry wind
> Where we a while must leave them alone,
> Till you the second part do finde.[186]

Only eight ballad titles were entered in two parts and nearly all were entered together or a couple of months apart. The one exception is *Lustye LAWRENCE*

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180   Ar. II. 638. (USTC 525123, 525124).

181   Ar. I. 178. (USTC 523163, 523170).

182   Ar. I. 185.

183   'Hay|Hey n.4', Oxford English Dictionary On-line, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/8481 0?rskey=BqnA8H&result=4&isAdvanced=false> [23 August 2016].

184   Ar. III. 271. (USTC 525623).

185   Ar. II. 609, 610. (USTC 525059, 525061).

186   Anon, *The first*[*-second*] *part of the Marchants daughter of Bristow To the tune of, The maydens joy*.

entered in 1594.[187] It was never entered as a multiple part and the second part was only entered two years later in 1596 'shewinge his fall and ende'.[188] This suggests the printer Thomas Creede simply capitalised on the ballad's unexpected popularity. None of these two-part ballads survive.

Even within a monopoly there was competition between the stationers for titles. A couple of ballads on topical events were entered before the event had even taken place. In 1588 John Wolfe entered a ballad on Elizabeth's royal entrance into London, but as it was yet to happen, he left out the dates, *Joyfull ballad of the Roiall entrance of Quene Elizabeth into her cyty of London the* [...] *Day of november 1588 and of the solemnity used by her majestie to the glory of GOD for the wonderful overthrowe of the Spaniardes* [...] *&c.*[189] Edward White also entered a ballad on the 1594 accession celebrations two days before the anniversary took place.[190] These stationers wanted to secure the topic for themselves, possibly to sell the ballads on the day of the event. Both ballads are now lost.

Conclusion

The enduring popularity of ballads in early modern England can be summed up by one of the lost titles; *Newe Newe and never olde, a good tale Cannot to[o] often be Tolde* (1581).[191] Despite ballads and ballad-sellers being banned 1649–1655/56, they remained an important genre both as a form of entertainment and as a way of providing print reaction to events long into the seventeenth century.[192] Later seventeenth-century ballads covered the Rump Parliament, the Restoration and the revolution of 1689.[193] It has long been recognised that broadside ballads are more prone to destruction than other genres and that this has led to gaps in our knowledge. However, it is only by analysing the ballad entries in the Register that the immense scale of this destruction can finally be appreciated and assessed.

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187   Ar. II. 653. (USTC 525174).

188   Ar. III. 74. (USTC 525324).

189   Ar. II. 506. (USTC 524825).

190   Ar. II. 664. (USTC 525220).

191   Ar. II. 388. (USTC 524379).

192   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 81.

193   Mark S. Jenner, 'The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England', *Past & Present*, 177 (2002), pp. 84–120; Angela McShane and Mark S. Jenner, 'The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England [with Reply]', *Past & Present*, 196 (2007), p. 264.

Survival and collecting has clearly distorted our perceptions of certain subjects and topics. Ballads with a romantic subject have survived slightly better than ballads in the Religion category resulting in topics on marriage being more prominent in the surviving corpus than those on the coming of Judgement Day. Even within subjects there are huge variations, with half of the Northern Rebellion ballads surviving, but only 6% of crime ballads. Ballads covering crimes were also less likely to end up in stock lists and to be reprinted. Even though the entries do not provide the same level of information for authors and tunes, they present a tantalising glimpse of what was being printed, read and sung by the people of early modern England, rather than just what was collected.

The availability of ballads was clearly much higher than is indicated by entries of surviving works alone. The 1630s decade has the highest number of surviving ballads, with sixty-six ballads, this is meagre when compared with the 569 ballad editions entered in the 1560s. No ballads survive from a third of all the years entered in the Register, and only once, in the 1630s, did the loss rate drop to below 90%. Even in years when ballads did survive, in only five did the number of surviving ballads reach double figures; 1569–71, 1633–35 and 1637/38. The lost titles entered in the Register bring to light the diversity and variety of ballads that have been obscured by this crucial loss of evidence.

The ballad output of the Stationers' Company members is poorly represented by surviving works. Far more members were entering ballads than is portrayed through extant items, and while many of these only ever entered a handful of ballads, the most active stationers had licences for over a hundred titles. Entries also show the various ways stationers made the genre profitable. This could be through entering ballads in multiple parts, moralising older tales or by 'answering' ballads entered by other stationers. Entries from the Register therefore provide a better representation of the day-to-day production of ballads than is possible from surviving copies alone.

Looking at entries of surviving works alone suggests a dramatic rise in ballad numbers in the seventeenth century. While only a third of the ballad entries in the Register were made in the seventeenth century, they make up over half of the surviving editions. Incorporating data from the lost editions also shows that there was a complex pattern of survival throughout the period. The 1590s is particularly poorly represented, with only two ballads surviving out of a possible 185. In fact the sixteenth century was an incredibly important time for ballads, but this can only be fully comprehended by the inclusion of entries in the Register.

'What newes said one? sad newes said some': A True Relation of Lost News

> [*The Busy-body*] *knows what every Marchant got in his voyage, what plots are at Rome, what stratagems with the Turke* ... He loves no man a moment longer, then either he will tell him, or hears of him newes.[1]

News was an important part of everyday life in early modern England. It was spread through rumours and gossip at the market, hand-written letters between friends and colleagues and, increasingly, through the medium of print. The first surviving publication in England concerning a news event was a report of the English victory against the Scots at the battle of Flodden. It survives in a fragment from 1513 and contains a woodcut of the battle as well as a list of men who were ennobled for their brave actions.[2]

News can have a broad definition. At the simplest level it is the reporting of events or information. This can be *The confession of parson DARSY upon his Deathe*, *A pycture of a monsterus pygge at Salusbury* or *A copye of the treates of the confederation made betwene ye prences and the lordes of the Lowe Country of Flanders*, all three entered in the Stationers' Register in the year 1565/66, and now lost.[3] It could be presented in a single-sheet ballad set to a tune or in a multi-page quarto pamphlet. Defining news becomes trickier when we consider extraneous factors such as contemporaneity. News could take weeks, even months to reach a printing press in England, with a simple storm in the channel halting the movement of news from the continent. The fluidity of the preternatural, natural and supernatural worlds in the early modern period also means that curiosities, such as the discovery of a dragon, or strange sights in the air, were just as valid a news item as a speech by the French King, or a battle report. Strange sights were even coupled with other events as a warning

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* Anon, *Englands wedding garment. Or a preparation to King James his royall coronation* (London: Richard Read, for Thomas Pavier, 1603), sig. A3, EEBO. (USTC 3001412).

1 Thomas Adams, *Diseases of the soule a discourse divine, morall, and physicall* (London: George Purslowe, for John Budge, 1616), pp. 64–65, EEBO. (USTC 3007362).

2 Anon, [*Hereafter ensue the trewe encountre or ... batayle lately don betwene. Engla[n]de and: Scotlande.*] (London: Richard Faques, 1513), EEBO. (USTC 501239).

3 Ar. I. 310, 311. (USTC 523569, 523578, 523579).

such as the *Twooe discourses The one a true relacon of the Frenche kinges good success against the Duke of PARMA, the other of A certen mountaine borninge in the Isle of Palme five or Sixe weekes* entered by John Wolfe in 1592 (this pamphlet survives). It is therefore preferable to use a more flexible definition of news than would be used to describe modern-day reporting.

Until recently, news was an understudied part of early modern print history. This is despite the fact that a large amount of printed news was available and in demand during the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline periods. Traditionally, historians of news have focused on press censorship in the English context, as this had an impact on what could and could not be printed, especially for domestic news items. Fredrick Seaton Siebert argued that during the Tudor and Stuart periods the authorities restricted press freedom through the constant monitoring of printed works by a variety of institutions.[4] More recently Sheila Lambert and Cyndia Susan Clegg have showed that authorities were often prevented from acting by a weak censorship system and that the level of censorship changed from monarch to monarch.[5]

Between the years 1557 and 1640, over 1,000 news pamphlets were entered in the Stationers' Register, with entries covering a wide range of events and places. Most of the research on news in England however has focused on the seventeenth century and the development of periodic news, starting with corantos in the 1620s and the explosion of political print during the 1640s.[6] Even though the percentage of news entries doubled after the creation of weekly news, the majority of news entries in the Register come from before the 1620s. The Register is critical in highlighting the vitality of news print in England before the arrival of corantos, as well as helping us establish the events deemed profitable enough to be put in print.

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4   Fredrick S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476–1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Control* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 2.

5   S. Lambert, 'State Control of the Press in Theory and Pratice: The Role of the Stationers' Company Before 1640', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France, 1600–1910* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1992), pp. 1–32; Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

6   Jayne E.E. Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011); Joad Raymond (ed.), *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006); Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

The period covered by the Register is most notable for the rise of printed news on events outside of the British Isles. News from the British Isles and the first reports from the English-controlled settlement in Virginia are here regarded as domestic news, with foreign news from the rest of Europe and beyond. Before the arrival of corantos, however, 40% of news pamphlets focused on domestic events, and this is not even including the large number of ballads containing domestic news explored in the previous chapter. Bearing in mind the restrictions on printing political domestic news, it is interesting to see what type of domestic news was being disseminated and how it became a commodity when local news could be passed more cheaply and simply by word of mouth. Analysis shows that news pamphlets containing stories from the British Isles are generally less likely to survive than their foreign news counterparts, particularly in the sixteenth century. Fortunately, the Register provides valuable evidence on the variety of news titles available, both for domestic and foreign events.

Despite the transient nature of their content, news publications entered in the Register have a relatively high survival rate of 57%, although this varies depending on the type of news and the format. News works often survived by being bound together. An auction catalogue from 1689 lists for sale, 'A collection of all the several compleat setts of News from the Year 163[8 to] 1660 ... Gathered by Sir Bulstrode Whitlock, &c. and bound in 32 [several] Vollumes in *Quarto*'.[7] Even though auction catalogues show that there was a second hand market for news pamphlets, they do not indicate who bought the works, or necessarily give any detail as to the contents of the bound volume.[8] One auction catalogue from 1690 simply advertises 'A Book of Pamphlets'.[9] Entries in the Register provide a wide overview of news printing over the period, helping us look beyond the barrier of survival.

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7 Anon, *A catalogue of considerable books, Latin and English, in all volumes With a curious collection of all the valuable pamphlets from 1638. to the years 1660. Collected by an eminent minister of state, in 32 several volumes, in quarto. Will be sold by auction on Monday the 2d of December, 1689. at Tom's Coffe-House, in Pope's-Head-Alley, over against the Royal-Exchange, Cornhil. The sale beginning precisely at three of the clock in the afternoon* (London: s.n., 1689), sig. E*v*, EEBO.

8 Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 88.

9 William Annand, *A catalogue of excellent and rare books [to] be sold by way auction the 25th. day of February. [W]hich was the library of Mr William Annand late Dean of Edinburgh deceased* (Edinburgh: Society of Stationers, 1690), p. 9, EEBO.

Fun with Formats

The appearance of news in print changed over the decades. The earliest news in print was the proclamation and usually comprised of a single folio sheet of paper. Proclamations were legal documents, bringing the King or Queen's latest instructions, but they also went to considerable pains in their texts to explain why the new order was necessary: sketching context, enumerating those who had requested a piece of information, giving a summary of a threatening military situation. In this respect they were very much news bearing, were proclaimed orally as well as spread by print, and became the subject of public conversation. In this respect they were very much part of the news nexus.[10]

The publication of proclamations was covered by a privilege held by the King/Queen's Printer and so did not need to be entered in the Register.[11] The same was true of ordinances and edicts issued by the City of London who had their own appointed printer.[12] The only exceptions in the Register were John Day's *Proclamation for bere and ale frome the lorde maiour* and *A proclamation for the Seale of vyttles*.[13] These lost items were both entered in 1557/58, the first year of the Register, when the stationers were still getting to grips with the new rules. News was often reported in broadsheet format, both in ballads and in tuneless news sheets. One of the surviving broadsheet examples from the Register is *The Italian yo[u]ng man with his brother growing out of his side with some verses thereunto* from 1637.[14] Broadsheets are not always easy to spot in the Stationers' Register because of the lack of format information.

Speed was an important aspect of the dissemination of news. This is why, along with single sheets, pamphlets were the most common format for printed news. News pamphlets were generally quartos of six to eight pages, increasing

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10 Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), p. 87; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 367.

11 *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume II The Later Tudors (1553–1587)*, eds. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (London, 1969); *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume III The Later Tudors (1588–1603)*, eds. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (London: Yale University Press, 1969); H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640 Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reigns of James I and Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 54.

12 Mark Jenner, 'London', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture Vol.1 Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 303.

13 Ar. I. 74, 77. (USTC 523009, 523047).

14 Ar. IV. 399. (USTC 3019398).

to twenty-four pages in the 1620s.[15] They were plain, sometimes with a small woodcut on the title page. The title pages often included a lengthy description of the news inside and, after the 1620s, numbering was used to encourage subscription and frequent purchase. News publishers also encouraged future purchases by ending their works with phrases such as 'more you shall have the next post'.[16] This was mocked by critics with writer Richard Brathwaite at the end of his discourse on coranto-coiners writing, 'the rest I end with his owne cloze; *next weeke you shall heare more*'.[17]

After 1620, the entry of news items in the Register becomes complicated. The first English corantos were sent over from Amsterdam, so were not registered. The first surviving example was the less than encouraging *The new tydings out of Italie are not yet com*, printed by George Veseler from December 1620.[18] By 1622, the publishing of corantos in England was carried out by a syndicate: Nicholas Bourne, Nathaniel Butter, Thomas Archer, William Sheffard, Bartholomew Downes (left 1623) and Nathaniel Newbery (joined 1623). As the entrance of periodic news in the Register was sporadic, the organisation into series by the Swedish scholar Folke Dahl was used as a basis for comparing data in the Register.[19] As an example, in the first year of the syndicate, the lost tenth and eleventh issue of series one were entered in the Stationers' Register, but the next entry was the surviving issue sixteen.[20]

By 1624, the news publishers started bulk entering without a reference to the issue number. This meant a decrease in the amount of information on topic and language. After 1627, Butter and Bourne went into news publishing on

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15   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 203.

16   Anon, *November 29. Numb. 50. The continuation of our forraine intelligence since the 22. to this present moneth. The first part. Contayning amongst the rest these particulars following: the taking of the citie Great Glogaw in Silesia and Eger, on the fronter of Bohemia: with the expulsion of the Imperialists out of Silesia, and both the upper and lower Lusatia. He taking of the Bishoprickes of Patterborn and Corvay by the Landgrave of Hessen, with his summoning of all the Lords and states of Westphalia, to render themselves under his Majestie of Sweden. Severall late passages of the King of Sweden his proceedings neere Mentz, and of his armies in other parts. The taking of many townes more, and the yeelding of the cities of Norimberg and Vim, with divers others unto his Majestie of Sweden* (London: John Dawson, for Nathaniel Butter, and Nicholas Bourne, 1631), p. 14, EEBO. (USTC 3015184).

17   Richard Brathwaite, *Whimzies: or, a new cast of characters* (London: Felix Kingston, sold by Ambrose Ritherdon, 1631), p. 24, EEBO. (USTC 3015405).

18   ESTC S119505. (USTC 3008918).

19   Folke Dahl, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks 1620–1642* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1952).

20   Ar. IV. 87, 89, 90. (USTC 526226, 526229, 3010816).

their own with one of their entries from 19 June 1627 simply stating, 'Received of them for all *Currantes of Newes until the first day of August 1627 ....*xvs'.[21] King Charles banned the printing of foreign news in October 1632.[22] Interestingly, Butter and Bourne petitioned to print news again in September 1633. This corresponds with entries for fourteen corantos 'untill the 2d. of September 1633', none of which survive.[23] These fourteen corantos were entered in the Register in December suggesting that they were printed but did not survive. Historian Jayne E.E. Boys is not convinced that this series was ever printed, despite being listed in the Register, believing that Butter and Bourne had to wait until December 1638 for a warrant to start printing foreign news again.[24] The subsequent tenth, eleventh and twelfth series of news were therefore printed 'with privilege' and were not entered. Despite the discrepancies, both Dahl's data and the entries in the Register result in the same average survival rate for corantos.

Format had an impact on survival. The survival rate of single topic news pamphlets was 60%, but for the periodic corantos it was only 40%. There was, however, no linear progression from one form to another and different news formats continued to co-exist in the marketplace. M.A. Shaaber argued that the development of the printed newspaper was an inevitable progression from the earliest ad hoc newsheets to the regular newspapers.[25] In the Register, however, news sheets, news pamphlets and ballads continued to be entered alongside corantos and newspapers throughout the early modern period. Even when different formats were introduced they did not always last. Imported Dutch corantos consisted of a single sheet, but when corantos were printed in England the pamphlet format was used instead.[26] The pamphlet format would remain popular in the newsbooks of the Civil Wars.

Not all news sheets and pamphlets were created equal and, even within the same format, other factors played a part in survival. The price of a pamphlet was about 2d, 3d in the 1630s after the rise in the cost of paper and of importing foreign news.[27] Some pamphlets would have been more expensive because of illustrations. The surviving pamphlet of *A most true report of the myraculous moving and sinking of a plot of ground, about nine acres, at Westram in Kent*

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21   Ar. IV. 182.

22   CSPD, Charles I (1631–1633), p. 426.

23   Ar. IV. 309.

24   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 230. CSPD, Charles I (1638–1639), p. 182.

25   M.A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476–1622* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1966), p. 10.

26   Joad Raymond, 'News', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 381.

27   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 112.
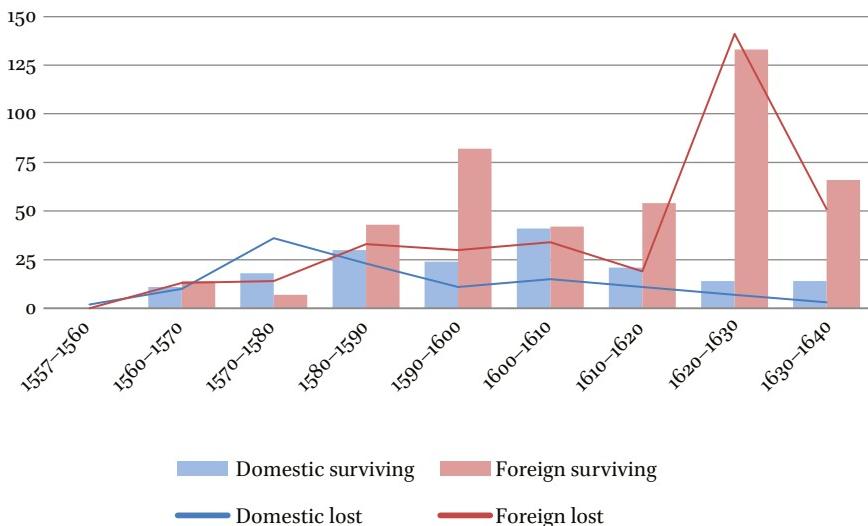
FIGURE 2.1 *Comparison of the loss and survival of domestic and foreign news entered in the Register, 1557–1640. See corresponding figure in Colour Section.*

(1596) had a specially produced woodcut on the title page. Not only does it show the topography of the land, but it also provides detailed descriptions of how the ground moved. At the head of the image it explains how 'From A. to A. signifieth the carrying away at the North end, which is sunke in one place 100. foote, and in an other place 65. foote'.[28] The topic could also make a difference. Foreign news items survived better than domestic ones while the most popular news items were printed in multiple editions. *The Swedish Intelligencer* ran to four editions, one of which appeared in an auction catalogue in 1686.[29]

In contrast to other genres, the survival rate of news items is almost identical between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 56% and 58% respectively. This unusual result is because of the slightly higher survival rate of non-periodic items pre-1620s and the fact that news ballads are placed in the previous chapter. The survival rates though did vary over the decades, as clearly shown in Figure 2.1. The lowest survival rate was in the 1570s with only

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28   John Chapman, *A most true report of the myraculous moving and sinking of a plot of ground, about nine acres, at Westram in Kent, which began the 18. of December, and so continued till the 29. of the same moneth* (London: Thomas Creede, 1596), sig. A1, EEBO. (USTC 513053).

29   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 162. Anon, *A Catalogue containing variety of English books in divinity, history, travels, romances, poetry &c. which will be exposed to sale by way of auction at Mr. Bridges Coffee-house in Popes-Head Alley in Cornhill, on Monday the 20th of this instant December, 1686* (London: s.n., 1686), p. 13, EEBO.

a 35% survival rate, rising to 70% in the 1590s. The increase in survival would seem to confirm Joad Raymond's argument that news works were more likely to survive in times of increased demand.[30] The inclusion of lost titles, however, shows that the percentage and number of news entries to overall entries is identical in all three decades. A more likely reason for increased survival is that news items in the 1570s were mainly news sheets whereas pamphlets became popular in the 1580s.[31] Single sheets were always more susceptible to destruction.

Survival rates clearly need to be taken into consideration even when items seem to have a decent number of surviving editions. Even though foreign news was the most prevalent subject of the 1590s, the overall number has been exaggerated by the 70% survival rate and the fact that the survival rate of foreign news in the 1580s and 1600s was closer to 50%. The impressive survival rate of news pamphlets in the 1590s is even more interesting given that none of the ballads entered on a news event during that decade have survived. Once again, this is likely a result of the different formats. The lower rate of survival in the 1600s decade also gives the impression that an equal number of news pamphlets were being printed on foreign and domestic news. This was clearly not the case.

Unlike George Thomason and the news pamphlets of the 1640s, during this period there was no one collector of news publications in England.[32] News items therefore appear in collections across the United Kingdom and America. One of the collections is held in Belvoir Castle in Leicestershire, the home of the Earls of Rutland. It contains ninety-four news items, mainly periodic news, sixty-four of which are unique copies.[33] It is difficult to trace how these news items reached the collection. Often men bought news pamphlets while they were doing business in London before taking them back into the country.[34] News pamphlets would also be sent with letters and therefore survive with manuscripts. In January 1625, Hew Hawksworth wrote to the 7th Earl of

30   Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 88.

31   Michael J. Braddick, 'England and Wales', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 27.

32   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War,* p. 106.

33   Henry L. Snyder, 'Newsletters and Newspapers: the Circulation of News in Britain in the 17th and 18th Centuries', in Hartmut Walraens and Edmund King (eds.), *Newspapers in International Librarianship: Papers Presented by the Newspapers Section at IFLA General Conferences* (München: K.G. Saur, 2003), p. 124.

34   Fritz Levy, 'The Decorum of News', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999), p. 32.

Rutland, Sir George Manners that, 'I have sent you two of your little books', possibly referring to the news pamphlets in the collection.[35]

Speed and timing were important features of the news industry. As one anonymous ballad from 1620 commented, 'fresh fish & newes grow quickly stale'.[36] Almost 20% of the news items entered in the Register contain dates in the title. These dates can be compared with the date of entry to see how long news was taking to reach the printing press in England. Dates however must be used with caution. As with ballads, a couple of news entries were entered before the event. The lost title of *Ye device of the Pageant borne before the Righte honorable MARTYN CALTHROP lorde maiour of the Cytie of London the 29th daie of October 1588* was entered in the Register on 28 October, the day before.[37] This is presumably because the stationer wanted to sell the item on the day.

Domestic news could take a couple of days or a few months to be entered. *A fatherly admonycon and lovinge warrynge to England but especially to London by ye reason of a moost fearfull earth quake which he sent as a fayre token of his spedie commynge to Judgement: the vjth of Aprill 1580* was entered two days after the event on 8 April 1580.[38] However, *The miraculous Judgement of GOD showen in Herefordshire, where a mightie barne filled with Corne was consumed with fire begynninge last Christmas Eeve, and Duringe ffyftene Doyes after* was not entered until the following February.[39] Henry Gosson made two entries in April 1608, both of which were entered six days after the event. One was an execution held in London, while the other was a fire in St Edmundsbury, Suffolk.[40]

The biggest problem in analysing timing comes with news from the continent. In 1582, Pope Gregory XIII introduced a reform to the Julian calendar.[41] France, Spain, the Southern Netherlands and the newly independent Northern Netherlands soon followed. Parts of the Holy Roman Empire, however, changed at different times; Catholic states in 1583, some Protestant states as late as 1700, and England did not move from the Julian calendar until 1752.[42] The Gregorian

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35   *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle Vol. 1* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888), p. 475.

36   Anon, *An Excellent new medley to the tune of the Spanish pavin* (London: s.n., 1620), EEBO. (USTC 3009469).

37   Ar. II. 504. (USTC 524816).

38   Ar. II. 368. (USTC 524268).

39   Ar. II. 671. (USTC 525241).

40   Ar. III. 374, 375. (USTC 3003497, 3003330).

41   Bonnie J. Blackburn and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion to the Year: An Exploration of Calendar Customs and Time-Reckoning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 682–688.

42   Owen Gingerich, 'The Civil Reception of the Gregorian Calendar', in G.V. Coyne, M.A. Hoskin and O. Pederson (eds.), *Gregorian Reform of the Calendar, Proceedings of the*

calendar was ten days ahead of the traditional style of dates and it is not always clear from the entries which calendar they refer to. Only a handful of entries refer to being entered in the 'new style'. The earliest is the surviving work *The true copie of a letter written from the leager by Arneham Datid the xxvijth of Julye, newe stile, touchinge a late overthrowe gyven to the prince of PARMA by the States* made by Andrew White on 20 July 1591.[43] Entry in the new style is only obvious when the reports appear to cover future events. *A true Relation of the victorie atchieved neere Newport against the archduke ALBERTUS &c. by Grave MAURICE &c. 2 Julij 1600* was entered 30 June 1600, seemingly two days before the victory.[44] Contemporary sources also suggest that fake dates were used to make the news appear more recent:

> To make his reports more credible … in the relation of every occurent: he renders you the day of the Moneth; and to approve himselfe a Scholler, he annexeth these Latine parcells, or parcellgilt sentences, *veteri Stylo*, *novo Stylo*.[45]

Nevertheless, dates can provide some information on how long foreign news was taking to get to the printing presses in England. Research on the transmission of news in the 1630s suggests that news from central Europe took a month to arrive in England, while news from Amsterdam took only days.[46] While there are not enough dated news items entered in the Register to work out any patterns, it is clear from the entries that for certain news, speedy dissemination was not always possible or even a priority. Sixty titles took over a month after the event to be entered. Given the distance, it is unsurprising that *A letter from the Burmudoes [i.e. Bermuda] concerninge a fearefull Storme which happened in those Island[s] in August [1629] last &c* was not entered until eight months after the event.[47] News items from closer to home, however, were also taking over a month. A third of these were entries on supernatural events. Reports of supernatural events did not need to be recent to retain their potency, since their purpose was essentially allegorical, to draw attention to God's purpose behind the portent. News items without time constraints could also be printed intermittently by stationers to boost funds between the production of larger works.

Vatican Conference to Commemorate its 400th Anniversary 1582–1982 (Vatican City: Specola Vaticana, 1983), pp. 265–268.

43   Ar. II. 590. (USTC 511735).

44   Ar. III. 165. (USTC 514866).

45   Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, pp. 17–18.

46   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty News Press*, p. 48.

47   Ar. IV. 232. (USTC 526504).

You Who Would be Inform'd of Forraine Newes,/Attend to this Which Presently Insues[48]

News covered a range of countries and entries show stories coming from as far as Bermuda in the west and the Moghul Empire in the east.[49] Foreign news was entered from the very beginning of the Register, with the first entry in 1561 concerning 'a strange fyre that was sene in the aire both longe and brode almost through al Germany'.[50] By the 1580s, foreign news had overtaken domestic entries and in the 1590s almost 80% of news entries were on events outside of the British Isles. This was the highest point before the huge increase of foreign news following the importation of corantos in the 1620s and the creation of English serials. Only one entry mentions a pamphlet reporting both foreign and domestic news. This is the surviving *A Currant Dated the 3 of September 1622 [? N.S.] Called newes from sundry places, with a relacon of the storme at Plimouth*.[51]

The development of printed news was highly dependent on the fluctuating supply of news over the period. Lisa Ferraro Parmalee's work on the influx of news from France during the French Wars of Religion showed that demand also came and went with events.[52] Parmalee argued that works from France were popular as they resonated with fears of Englishmen of a possible succession crisis and civil war under an ageing queen with no clear heir.[53] This may be true when looking at the larger political tracts, but the news entries were more concerned with the Catholic threat and the progress of English troops. *A letter sent from a gentleman of accoumpte concerninge the true estate of the Englishe forces nowe in Ffraunce under the conduct of the righte honorable the E[a]rle of ESSEX, &c* entered in 1591 was chiefly concerned with quashing

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48   Anon, *A lamentable list of certaine hideous, frightfull, and prodigious signes, which have bin seene in the aire, earth and waters, at severall times for these 18. yeares last past, to this present: that is to say, anno. 1618. untill this instant. anno. 1638. in Germany, and other kingdoms and provinces adjacent; which ought to be so many severall warnings to our kingdome, as to the said empire. To the tune of aime not to high* (London: John Okes, for Thomas Lambert, 1638), EEBO. (USTC 3019604).

49   Ar. IV. 232, 69. (USTC 526504, 3010244).

50   Joachim Camerarius, [*The history of strange wonders*] (London: Rowland Hall, 1561), sig. A2, EEBO. (USTC 505859).

51   Ar. IV. 79. (USTC 3010558).

52   Lisa Ferraro Parmalee, *Good Newes From Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Woodbridge: University of Rochester Press, 1996).

53   *Ibid.*, p. 164.

rumours of the troubled state of the English army.[54] The pamphlet described
tales of negligence and pestilence before stating that:

> all this God bee thanked is meere false, for neyther hath there any Cap-
> taines at all bin drowned, nor yet any such extreame sickenes happened
> among our army as is reported.[55]

Raymond argued that English intervention in foreign wars boosted news
sales.[56] However, it is just as likely that English intervention increased supply,
with reports coming in from the troops, and from the government encouraging
good news stories. In 1562 English troops were sent across to France to assist the
Huguenots.[57] All seven news items entered in the Register in 1562 concerned
France, the cruelty of the Catholic Duke of Guise and the leadership of the
Huguenot Prince of Conde.[58]

English intervention though was not always needed to make something
newsworthy. David Randall has pointed out the wider role of reporting good
news and Protestant victories both in the supply and demand of news.[59] This
is shown in the entries such as *A most great wonderfull and miraculous victo-*
rie obteyned by the christians againste the Turkes in Hungarie / with the Copie of
his Lettres sent to monsie[u]r DE BARON DE BILLYE gouernour of Lille Douay
and Orches from 1590, now lost, and *The great victorye of the sea fight which 8*
Holland ships had against. 17. great Spanishe ships the first of April 1613 which
survives.[60] Reporting Protestant victories over unbelievers formed part of a
larger propaganda war of Protestants and Christendom against Catholics and
the Ottomans, with writers keen to point to providential signs.[61] The story of a

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54   Ar. ii. 594. Fabian Johnson, *True intelligence sent from a gentleman of account Concerning,*
      the estate of the English forces now in Fraunce, under the conduct of the Right Honourable
      the Earle of Essex. Particularly expressing what hath beene done since his departure from
      England, until the second of September last (London: John Wolfe, for Thomas Nelson, 1591),
      EEBO. (USTC 511863).

55   *Ibid.*, p. 7.

56   Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 103.

57   Levy, 'The Decorum of News', p. 18.

58   Ar. i. 179, 180, 199, 201, 203. (USTC 516615, 505944, 505974, 505942, 505966, 516618, 523224).

59   David Randall, *English Military News Pamphlets, 1513–1637* (Tempe, Arizona: Center for
      Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2011), p. xxi.

60   Ar. ii. 647, iii. 529. (USTC 525156, 3005812).

61   Michael Frearson, 'The Distribution and Readership of London Corantos in the 1620s', in
      Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Serials and their Readers* (Winchester: St Paul's
      Bibliographies, 1993), p. 3; David Randall, 'Providence, Fortune, and the Experience of
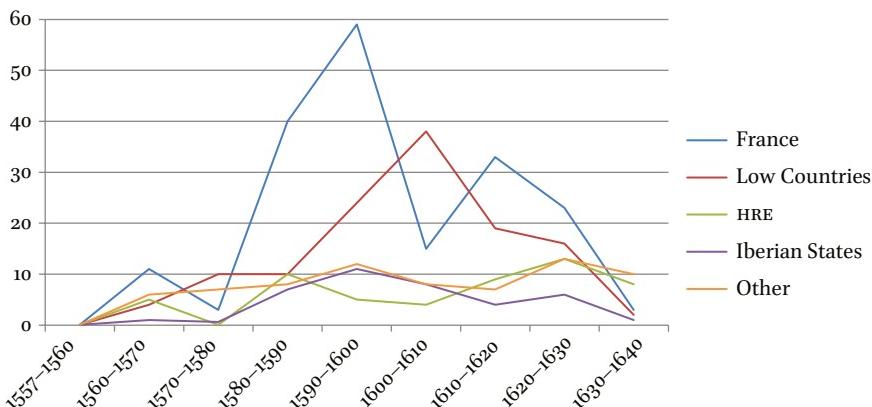
FIGURE 2.2 *Countries mentioned in the news titles entered in the Register (excluding periodic news), 1557–1640. See corresponding figure in Colour Section.*

whale beached on the shore at Berkheide in Holland was used as an allegory for the Spanish victories against the Dutch during the Spanish Winter of 1598–99:

> [Don Francisco de Mendoza, Admiral of Aragon] is like a Whale, who whatsoever he catcheth in his chops, he swalloweth, teareth, and devoureth without mercie, for I have hoped always that God would make the Spanish tyrant starve for hunger, like the Whale did after two days and three nights.[62]

Entries in the Stationers' Register reveal how the demand for news from different countries fluctuated over the decades (Figure 2.2). Unsurprisingly, Northern Europe, and in particular France and the Low Countries were the main

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Combat: English Printed Battlefield Reports, circa 1580–1637', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 35.4 (2004), p. 1058.

62   Walvisch van Berkhey, *A briefe relation, of what hapned since the last of August 1598. By comming of the Spanish campe into the dukedom of Cleve: and the bordering free countries, which with most odious and barbarous crueltie they take as enemies, for the service of God, and the King of Spaine (as they say). Heerunto is adjoined a translation out of Latin, of a letter of the Emperours embassadour, to the admirant of Arragon, the general of the said army: with his answere. Together with a description of the whale of Berkhey, or the great fish which stranded or came on shoare at Berckhey in Holland, the third of February 1598 .... Also a letter of the Emperour of Germany, to the admirant of Arragon .... With the admirants answere .... Faithfully translated out of the Dutch coppy printed at Roterdam* (London: Edward Allde, for John Wolfe, 1599), p. 21, EEBO. (USTC 517529).

focus of single issue news entries. Much of this can be attributed to coverage of the French Wars of Religion and the Dutch War of Independence. These wars contained the elements needed for profitable news pamphlets: the heroic struggle between Protestants and Catholics, English troops, epic battles and evil Spaniards. Nonetheless, there were clear peaks in interest. Entries on news from France dropped sharply in the 1600s once fighting in France had died down after Henry's conversion to Catholicism. The Twelve Year Truce during the Dutch war contributed to the drop in printed news entries on the Low Countries during the 1610s. Additionally, the peak in interest in news from the Holy Roman Empire in the 1620s can be attributed to the Bohemian Revolt and the start of the Thirty Years War.

Given the anti-Catholic perspective of many news entries, works on Spain were not as prevalent as one might expect although they do have a higher than average survival rate. The main news event involving Spain and England was the Armada but, as the Armada was mainly covered in ballads, only two news pamphlets were entered on the event.[63] For most of the period anti-Spanish sentiment was covered in works on the Low Countries and sea battles against the English and Dutch. This includes the lost news pamphlet describing *The fight on ye sea. by 10. merchantes Shippes of London against. 12 Spanishe Gallies which assalted them in the straightes of Jublitor [i.e. Gibraltar] where the Spaniardes with their gallies were spoyled &c with a Recitall of the newes of the 'Abraham' and the 'Red Lyon' with their fight against 10. gallies whomme they mightely spoiled* entered in 1590 and *The copie of a letter shewinge the fight and overthrowe of the Spaniardes Armie and gallions uppon the 15 of Aprill in the baye of Giberalter 1607 written by a chief commander of the flete, of the united Netherland Provynces.*[64] One interesting surviving title was *Lamentable newes from Cesillia [Sicilly] a Island of the spanishe kinges which lately was assayled and spoyled in sundrieplaces by the Turkishe gallies beinge 107 sayle* (1595) as it appears to show a level of sympathy towards the Spanish.[65] This work shows that there was one thing worse than Catholics, and that was the Ottomans.

Overall, there are thirty news items concerning the Ottomans.[66] During the period of the Register, the Ottomans were losing their image of invincibility in Europe which chimed well with the desire for printing good news. Among the items now lost were *Letters of Sommons sente backe agayne by the great Turke / Soltan SOLIMAN to ye Citizens of the Cetye of Malta and also of the*

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63   Ar. II. 498, 504. (USTC 510911, 510887).

64   Ar. II. 556, III. 350. (USTC 524943, 525725).

65   Ar. II. 295. (USTC 512759).

66   See also Carl Göllner, *Turcica: Die Europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (3 vols., Berlin: Librairie Heitz Baden, 1961–78).

castell of Saynte Elme during the Great Siege of Malta in 1565, *Newes from Constantinople Vienna and diverse other places concerning the affayres and warres of the Christians and Turkes* from 1595 and *The Relacon of the Death of ACHMAT last Emperour of the Turkes with the Eleccon of MUSTAPHA. The new Emperour* entered in 1618.[67] There were also news items on events in Sweden, Russia, the Barbary Coast and Palestine. Because reports on the Thirty Years war were covered in the news serials, single issue pamphlets entered after the 1620s focused increasingly on news from countries that were not involved in the fighting.

Outside of the syndicate members – Nicholas Bourne, Nathaniel Butter, Thomas Archer, William Sheffard, Bartholomew Downes and Nathaniel Newbery – John Wolfe was the most prolific news publisher. Between 1587 and 1600, he made seventy-eight entries, seventy-five of which covered foreign news. Almost two-thirds of Wolfe's entries covered France, mainly between 1589 and 1593. It was only in the year 1598/99 that his focus moved towards news from the Low Countries. Lost titles include *The copie of A letter touching MOUNT-PENSIERs procedings in his government of Normandy and th[e] overthrowe of Certen Rebelles* from 1589, *A letter sent by the Ffrench kinge to monsieur DE VIELLIERS uppon the overthrowe gyven to the Countie MANSFIELD and his companies xviijth of June 1594 according to the forreyn Computacon* from 1594 and *A true reporte of the yeilding up of the Invincible Sconnce called 'Sainct Andrewes Sconnce' in Bommelec weite in Flaunders* entered in 1600.[68]

Wolfe's news works have a better than average 72% survival rate. This has made it possible for a decent amount of research to be carried out on his printing. Not only is Wolfe known to have travelled and worked abroad but he is likely to have been Lord Burghley's chosen printer for the publishing of news propaganda for the government.[69] This might explain the extent of his foreign news contacts and his dominance of the foreign news market during the 1590s. In fact, both Paul Voss and Joad Raymond have argued that Wolfe's printed news in 1592 could be considered a serial as his news pamphlets came out regularly and had a unified layout.[70] No other stationer outside of the periodic news era came close to this level of engagement with news publications.

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67   Ar. I. 298, III. 45, 623. (USTC 523509, 525265, 526079).

68   Ar. II. 521, 654, III. 161. (USTC 524869, 525175, 525448).

69   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty News Press*, p. 24. Parmalee, *Good Newes From Fraunce*, p. 132.

70   Paul J. Voss, *Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe & the Birth of Journalism* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2001), p. 69; Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 107.

With only forty-five entries between them, the other most active stationers for foreign news before 1622 lag way behind Wolfe in news production. These were Nathaniel Newbery, William Wright, John Charlewood and Cuthbert Burby. The entries of these stationers also focused on events in France and the Low Countries. Nevertheless, Wolfe clearly dominated French news production, with only six entries of news from France entered by a stationer other than him. It was only after the 1610s when Wolfe was no longer printing news that France dominated the entries by the other stationers. These stationers clearly did not have the same contacts as Wolfe, but they did go through periods of increased activity. Between 1590 and 1591, William Wright entered an average of one news entry every two months.

Over 200 stationers entered news items but, as with ballads, news in the seventeenth century was entered by a diminished group. Before 1622, the five most active news stationers only accounted for a fifth of news entries. After 1622, the five members of the syndicate made 87% of the news entries. This means that, post-1622, only thirty-eight stationers outside the syndicate made news entries. Even though the syndicate was not a monopoly, they clearly dominated news production during this period. This is reflected in contemporary literature. When discussing the ephemeral nature of news print, critic Richard Brathwaite explained how 'they melt like *Butter*, or match a pipe and so *Burne*'.[71] This is a clear reference to Butter and Bourne who continued as partners in the news industry after the syndicate broke up in 1627.

Bookseller Nathaniel Butter was by far the most prominent news publisher in the Register.[72] Between 1619 and 1640, he entered 292 news items. Fourteen were single issue news items, eighty-five were entered for the syndicate and 193 were from when he was partners with Bourne. Only 111 of the entries mention the names of his syndicate partners, suggesting Butter was the leader of the syndicate as he was the one paying for and holding the licences.[73] Unlike Wolfe, Butter's works only have a 45% survival rate. This is because corantos in general have a lower survival rate than their single issue counterparts. Calculating survival from Dahl's register shows that 92% of the first series survived, but by the sixth series, this had decreased to 13%.[74] This mainly reflected the adverse turn of events, with the sixth series covering a period of Catholic advances

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71   Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, p. 22.

72   S.A. Baron, 'Butter, Nathaniel (*bap.* 1583, *d.* 1664)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4224> [10 August 2016].

73   Boys, *Londons' News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 96.

74   Dahl, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks.*

during the Thirty Years War.[75] Survival picked up between the seventh and eighth series, presumably because of the arrival and successes of the popular Protestant King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, in the war.[76]

There were stationers outside the syndicate who tried their hand at serial publications, but their involvement in the trade was more fitful. Setting up a periodical required a large financial input, and strong networks for the supply of news and distribution.[77] Profits also relied on a subscription-based service, so unless the stationers were able to keep up numbers of readers they soon ran out of money.[78] When the syndicate collapsed in 1624, Thomas Archer started to print his own weekly news serial. This started as a continuation of the syndicate serial but Archer was soon forced to start his own serial and numbering.[79] Only three of these were entered at the end of 1624, but the series continued until 1628.[80] Ralph Mabb entered *A Currant of Newes. october. 1. [1627] number. 1.* on 27 September 1627, but no surviving copies of this series are known.[81]

Even though there was a clear demand for printed news before the 1620s, it was not until the arrival of corantos from the continent that serial publications were attempted by English publishers. News periodicals were published weekly, but it was not until after 1641 that publishers had a set day for selling corantos.[82] This news would then be transported to other parts of the country by carriers and distributed by local booksellers.[83] Printed news pamphlets would also be sent into the country with newsletters. Lady Joan Barrington lived in Essex and her letters reveal she frequently received printed news from London. One letter from MP Sir William Masham in 1631 related the latest news on Gustavus Adolphus before ending, 'I have sent you this week's curranto and I hope the next will make things more certain'.[84]

75   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 221.

76   *Ibid.*, p. 224.

77   Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, 'The Creation of the Periodical Press 1620–1695', in Maureen Bell, John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 4: 1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 533.

78   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 270.

79   Dahl, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks*, p. 266.

80   Ar. IV. 122, 128, 130. (USTC 3011462, 3012463, 3011285, 526291).

81   Ar. IV. 186. (USTC 526404).

82   Marcus Nevitt, 'Ben Jonson and the Serial Publication of News', in *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe*, p. 58.

83   Frearson, 'The Distribution and Readership of London Corantos in the 1620s', p. 7.

84   *Barrington Family Letters, 1628–1632*, ed. Arthur Searle (London: Royal Historical Society, 1983), p. 218.

Unsurprisingly, the main focus of foreign news coverage was the Thirty Years War (1618–1648). The war was hugely destructive, involved countries all over Europe, and after 1625 included soldiers from England and Scotland. Periodic news coverage of the war started with the Bohemian revolt and tended to focus on the diplomatic and military features of the conflict.[85] Jayne E.E. Boys has already provided an in-depth study of surviving periodic news during the Thirty Years War. She argued that the war increased demand for printed periodicals across Europe, and this in turn led to a better supply of news into England.[86] Because of the vague titles and the discrepancies in entrances, however, it is almost impossible to see exactly what printed news has been lost. Only a wider correlation of corantos with their continental counterparts and newsletters would give an indication.

Of course, there were still single issue news works being printed. Forty-eight non-periodic news titles were entered after 1622, with over half of the entries covering domestic news. Three surviving works entered by Ralph Harford in 1638 describe the horrific deaths brought about by a lightning strike setting fire to a busy church in Withycombe, Devon:

> There was also one man more ... who was Warriner unto Sir *Richard Reynolds*, his head was cloven, his skull rent into three peeces, and his braines throwne upon the ground whole, and the haire of his head, through the violence of the blow at first given him, did sticke fast unto the pillar or wall of the church.[87]

One of the reasons for the increase in domestic news entries is because 'the printing of gazettes, and pamphlets of news from foreign parts' was banned by Charles between 1632 and 1638.[88] This made stationers cautious about printing even non-periodic foreign news. During the ban, a total of only twenty-one news items were entered, twelve of which covered domestic news.

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85   Nicholas Brownlees, *The Language of Periodical News in Seventeenth-Century England* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2011), p. 28.

86   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 269.

87   Ar. IV. 444, 445. Anon, *A true relation of those sad and lamentable accidents, which happened in and about the parish church of Withycombe in the Dartmoores, in Devonshire, on Sunday the 21. of October last, 1638* (London: George Miller, for Raphe Harford, 1638), p. 8, EEBO. (USTC 3019700, 3019775).

88   CSPD, Charles I (1631–1633), p. 426.

Home-Grown News

The pamphlets that reported domestic events seldom strayed into the dangerous realm of politics. Even though the censorship environment fluctuated over the period, stationers were unwilling to risk fine or imprisonment for offending the authorities. In 1620 James I made a proclamation 'against excess of lavish and licentious speech of matters of state'.[89] Even though this proclamation did not specifically mention printing, it showed a monarchical dislike for the dissemination of news on state affairs.[90] The proclamation, however, had to be re-issued a year later as people did not understand what 'matters of the state' entailed.[91] This unsympathetic environment explains why foreign news dominated the recorded entries in the Stationers' Register even though the explosion of domestic political newsbooks after the lapse of licensing in 1641 showed a clear market for domestic political news.[92]

Domestic news made up 27% of all entries, declining only after the 1610s. As political news was discouraged, the focus of domestic news was on crimes, monstrous births, fires and natural disasters. Some lost titles include *A monsterus pygge by Markett Rayson in Lynco[l]nshyre* from 1566/67, *The progresse of the plag[ue]* entered in 1579, *A Narration of the Strange throughinge of Stones &c. whiche happened in Chicke Lane &c* from 1605, and *A most bloudy unnaturall and unmatchable murther Comitted in Whitechappell by NATHANAELL TINDALL upon his owne mother* from 1624.[93] It could be argued, given some of the more supernatural and providential titles, that many of these items on domestic affairs cannot be considered news. However, as with differences between modern-day tabloid and broadsheet journalism, even though these sensational stories had a more entertainment-led focus than some of their more sober foreign counterparts they were still read as a type of news.

The market in domestic news was the domain of different publishers from those entering foreign news. John Wolfe only entered three domestic news items. His surviving domestic news entries were *A letter sente to Don BERNARDIN DI MENDOZZA, with th[e] advertisementes out of Ireland* (1588)

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89   James I, *By the King. A Proclamation against excess of lavish and licentious speech of matters of state* (London: Bonham Norton, and John Bill, 1621), EEBO. (USTC 3009830).

90   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 66.

91   Levy, 'The Decorum of News', p. 12.

92   Brownlees, *The Language of Periodical News in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 96.

93   Ar. I. 337, II. 349, III. 301, IV. 123. (USTC 523640, 524169, 525674, 526283).

and an account of the queen's progress through Hampshire in 1591.[94] Wolfe's only lost domestic entry is more tantalising as it is unclear to what event *The complaint of the town of Lowth in Lincolnshire* entered 12 July 1588 it was referring.[95] Richard Jones entered the most domestic news, closely followed by Henry Bynneman and Edward White. Unlike foreign news, stationers did not dominate the production of news from a certain area. Richard Jones entered news from London, York, Norfolk, Hereford, Northamptonshire, Wales and Ireland. Both Jones and White also entered a large number of ballads suggesting that the two genres were closely connected. The previous chapter discussed how ballads and pamphlets of the same story were printed together. Having the same story appear in multiple formats though did cause some problems with conflicting reports. Minister Henry Goodcole in his pamphlet on witch Elizabeth Sawyer confirmed that she had not been visited by the Devil, commenting that the rumour had been 'shamelessly printed and openly sung in a ballad, to which many give too much credite'.[96]

Foreign news was relatively easy to turn into a commodity. Local news, though, was more likely to be spread by word of mouth, meaning that the events covered needed to have a wider national interest, usually something sensational or supernatural. This, however, did not stop a range of news items being printed on tales from across the British Isles. Two-thirds of domestic entries specifically mention a place in their title, covering stories from thirty English counties, as well as Scotland, Wales, Ireland, America, and even one from the Channel Islands. The lost *Diverse Lamentable fiers in these shires following. viz. Kent. Middlesex. Surrey. Essex. Hertford. Bedford. Berks. Cambridge. Chester. Cornewall. Derby. Gloucester. Lincoln. Northampton. Norfolk. Suffolk. Northumberland. Stafford. Southampton and Wales* (1607) in particular shows the variety of places from which news came.[97] The fact that such a large percentage of domestic news items specify where the event took place suggests this was perceived to make them more credible and saleable.

If we look only at entries traced to a surviving copy, London and Westminster provided 20% of the news. Yet the evidence from the Stationers' Register

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94   Ar. ii. 504, 596. (USTC 510887, 511734).

95   Ar. ii. 494. (USTC 524790).

96   Henry Goodcole, *The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer a witch late of Edmonton, her conviction and condemnation and death. Together with the relation of the Divels accesse to her, and their conference together* (London: Augustine Matthews, for William Butler, 1621), sig. D, EEBO. (USTC 3009688).

97   Ar. iii. 343. (USTC 525718).

suggests this rather under-estimates the importance of the capital as a source of news: a full 40% of the news items registered concern an event in London or Westminster. Some lost London news items include *A lamentable Confession of MARGARET DORINGTON wief to ROBERTE DORINGTON of Westmynster whoe was executed in the pallace at Westmynster for murderinge ALICE FFOXE* from 1578, *Wofull newes of the burninge of certen houses at the Swan in the Strand of one NICHOLAS BLONTS an In[n]ke[e]per and other neighbors adjoyninge to the said Inne and of the hurtes and dammages that cam[e] through the same fier* entered in 1607, and *The Honour of Englishmen / Shewing the gloriouse tryumphs performed by the cheife of the English Nobility at Tilt before the King and Queens Majesties the Paulsgrave and the Ladie ELIZABETH at White Hall uppon the 24th of March 1612 [i.e. 1613]*.[98] As the main market for printed news was in London, it is unsurprising that this 'local' news was more prominent and that it was consumed and destroyed. Outside of London, the best coverage of English news came from Suffolk, Essex and Kent. This is to be expected as these ports often fed news into London.[99] However, news was clearly coming from further afield, both from the north and west of the country. This news would have travelled along the carrier and postal routes which stretched across England.[100]

As with ballads, some events mentioned in the lost titles can be recovered in other documents from the period. *A true reporte of the wicked practises and devillishe procedinges of SYMON READINGE in his abusinge and cozeninge of Diverse people in the citye of London with the true Discours of his conjuring in Sainct Georges feildes* was entered in 1607 but cannot be traced to a surviving copy.[101] There was, however, a Simon Reade who was pardoned in 1608 for 'conjuration and invocation of unclean spirits' and who was referred to in Ben Jonson's comedy, *The Alchemist*.[102] Early on in the play, Conmen Face and Subtle trick lawyer's clerk Dapper into paying them to summon up a familiar to help him gamble:

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98   Ar. ii. 328, iii. 345, 518. (USTC 524077, 525722, 525927).

99   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 10.

100   Paul Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European System of Communications', in *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe*, p. 20; Philip Beale, *A History of the Post in England from the Romans to the Stuarts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 168–169; Joan Parkes, *Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925), pp. 52–56.

101   Ar. ii. 343. (USTC 525720).

102   CSPD, James I (1603–1610), p. 406.

Dapp: Nay, now you grieve me Sir. Why should you wish so?
          I dare assure you, I'll not be ungratefull.
Face: I cannot think you will, Sir. But the *Lawe*
          Is such a thing – And then he says, *Reade's* matter
          Falling so lately
Dapp: *Reade*? He was an asse,
          And dealt Sir with a foole
Face: It was a Clearke, Sir.[103]

A third of all domestic news items concentrated on supernatural events. These covered tales of strange births, visions and God's wrath. These lost tales include, *A true reporte of the strange Commynge and breedinge of myse in the marshes of Dengie Hundred in Essex* entered in 1581, *The Wytches Lately condemned and executed at Bedford* from 1613 and *A relacion of ye 4 sunnes seene at Edenborough the 15th of June [1626]*.[104] Pre-1600, supernatural tales made up almost a quarter of news entries, but by the seventeenth century, made up only 9% of news entries. The number of supernatural entries remained steady throughout the period suggesting that the decline was attributable to the increased supply and interest in foreign political events, rather than a move away from a concern with the supernatural.

Coverage of the supernatural was the one area in which foreign news was not dominant or rising. Only 7% of publications entered on foreign news concerned the supernatural. This is because the foreign news publications were not as restricted in their content, with publishers providing the excitement of religious conflict and battles which was lacking in domestic news. Despite the focus on political and military reports in foreign news titles, a third of supernatural news entries covered a foreign event. Almost half of news on the Italian City States and 40% from the Holy Roman Empire concentrated on the supernatural. Foreign supernatural news items though were only half as likely to survive as domestic supernatural tales. This includes lost stories of *Newe Tydynges of a Huge and Ougly [ugly] childe borne at Arneheim in Gelderland* from 1576, *Trewe and Dreadfull newe tydinges of bloode and Brymston which GOD hathe caused to Rayne from heaven within and without the cytie Strale Sonet, with a wonderfull apparition seene by a citizen of the same Cytie named HANS GERMER whiche mett him in the f[e]ild as he was travaylinge on the waie*

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103   Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist* (London: Thomas Snodham, for Walter Burre, sold by John Stepneth, 1612), sig. B4, EEBO. (USTC 3005236).

104   Ar. II. 392, III. 514, IV. 163. (USTC 524394, 527374, 526340).

entered in 1597 and *A true and faithfull relation of a wonderfull seamonster, A seaman lately taken at sea, betweene Denmark and Norway* from 1621.[105]

The Truth is Out There

Unconfirmed reports were a tricky problem within the transmission of news. A letter to John Rous, Chaplain to the Earl of Rutland, in April 1625 commented, 'if I should relate all newes I shold weary us both and perhaps discredit my next letters, because many matters are uncertainely reported'.[106] This was a particular problem for periodic news publishers where a quick turnaround could lead to rumour being printed. Contemporary writer Ben Jonson was critical in his plays, *News from the New World* in 1620 and *The Staple of News* in 1626, comparing those who published printed news and their readers to the gossips who disseminated fictions and hearsay.[107] Jonson was not the only playwright raising the question of truth in print. Another contemporary play by John Fletcher in 1640 has the following conversation between two of the servants:

> 1. What booke has he given thee?
> 2. A dainty booke, a booke of the great Navy,
>   Of fifteene hundred shippes of Cannon proofe,
>   Built upon Whales to keepe their Keeles from sinking;
>   And Dragons in 'em, that spit fire ten mile;
>   And Elephants that carry goodly castles.
> 1. Dost thou beleeve it?
> 2. Shall we not beleeve books in Print?[108]

David Randall has argued that credibility in printed news relied heavily on the techniques of manuscript culture. News had long been passed through letter-writing, and news publishers used this tried and tested format to add authenticity to the printed works.[109] These techniques are reflected in the lost titles.

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105   Ar. II. 307, III. 91, IV. 54. (USTC 524020, 525354, 526166).

106   *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland*, p. 472.

107   Nevitt, 'Ben Jonson and the Serial Publication of News', p. 61.

108   John Fletcher, *The night-walker, or the little theife A comedy, as it was presented by her Majesties Servants, at the Private House in Drury Lane* (London: Thomas Cotes, for Andrew Crooke, and William Cooke, 1640), sig. F3*v*, EEBO. (USTC 3020904).

109   David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), p. 32.

Publishers could include the name of a high status author or recipient such
as *The kinges mandement for the publishinge of the generall peace betwene the
Ffrenche kinge, the Spanishe kinge and the Duke of SAVOYE Together with a let-
ter sent from the Constable to the first president touching the publishinge of the
peace* entered in 1598.[110] They could use eye-witness reports as in *The copy of a
letter sent from A gent[leman] to his wourshipfull Friend in England Conteyninge
A true report of the Assault gyven upon Berghen op Zoame by the enemy the 19 of
Septembris last 1605 in the night* from 1605.[111] Stationers could also bring mul-
tiple sources together in a single pamphlet as described in *A Currant of Newes
Number 35 Contayning The Copie of M[onsieur] T[H]ORAS letter to the duke of
BUCKS in answere of his lorships Summons: The sinking and taken of 7 shippes
sent to the Releife of the fort The Resolucion of the Rocheller[s], The arivall of 2300
English and Irish sent from Ireland under the Command of Sir RAFFE BINGLEY
&c*, entered in 1627.[112] The final entry also demonstrates the increasing desire
of readers for a collection of news items, rather than just a single event.[113]

Authorship could therefore have an important role in proving the reliabil-
ity of a news item. Any names mentioned were usually that of the sovereign
making the proclamation or speech, or the names of the recipient and senders
of any letters. Outside of these instances, only forty-seven entries in the Reg-
ister specify an individual writer. One example of a lost item of news with a
named author was *A commemoracon of the life of PETER KEMPE late of Stam-
ford Deceased. and also the tragicall discourse of him and his wife deceasinge
bothe within the space of v. houres reported by THOMAS CLARK as witnes of the
same* (1578).[114] As with ballad entries, the writers of the small news pamphlets
were rarely included in the Register, although a handful are listed with their
credentials, denoting their worth as witnesses or writers. Writers whose works
were lost include a mariner, 'a chief commander of the flete, of the united
Netherland Provynces, under the conducte of their Admirall Jacob van Heeni-
skerke', the 'parson of black Torrington in Devonshire' and a notary public.[115]
The writers were, unsurprisingly, always males, usually commanding positions
of respect.

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110   Ar. III. 117. (USTC 525380).

111   Ar. III. 303. (USTC 527888).

112   Ar. IV. 186. (USTC 526403).

113   S.K. Barker, '"Newes Lately Come": European News Books in English Translation', in S.K.
        Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (eds.), *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation,
        Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 243.

114   Ar. II. 323. (USTC 524064).

115   Ar. II. 459, 350, III. 288, 514. (USTC 524684, 525725, 525648, 525919).

Even less detail was given concerning the editors and compilers of the news serials. Not a single one of the periodic news entries mentions the name of an editor. They were rarely mentioned even in the surviving works. Only Thomas Gainsford and William Watts, editing from 1622–24 and 1631–32 respectively, gained reputations as successful editors, addressing readers and providing a context to the letters and reports.[116] A news pamphlet from 1622, beginning with news from Naples states, as 'the severall Letters beare not one date, I have thought good to Muster the Newes, which belongs to the same place, as it were into one Armie, and so you shall receive the occurrences all together'.[117] These editors also defended themselves against criticisms of falsehood. When Butter and Bourne's serial was accused of printing false news in 1631 by those who believed the King of Sweden had been defeated and killed by the Count of Tilly, the editor commented:

> wee doe now publish (as wee have received them from better hands) a confirmation of the Truth thereof with some circumstances not in our former, and against which, let the most barking curre open his mouth and say as formerly.[118]

The title page had a role to play in advertising the credibility of the news inside. 130 entries (13%) have the word 'true' in the title. Forty-eight of these are lost, ranging from *A true declaration of 7. persons whiche in ye parishe of Cleworth in*

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116 Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 123.

117 Anon, *The 4. Of Octob: 1622. A true relation of the affaires of Europe, especially, France, Flanders, and the Palatinate Whereby you may see the present estate of her provinces, and conjecture what these troubles and wars may produce. Together with a second overthrow given the French Kings forces at Mompelier, by those of the Protestant League, wherein were slaine a great number of the Kings armie. Last of all. the remove of the famous siedge before Bergen, upon the 22. of September last, with the retreat of Spinola to Antwerp, as taking advantage of the time, and not able to continue, for feare of utter dissipation* (London: Bernard Alsop, for Nathaniel Butter, and Nicholas Bourne, 1622), p. 1, EEBO. (USTC 3010492).

118 Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, *September. 2. Numb. 37. The continuation of our forraine avisoes, from the 20. of the last moneth to this present Containing the confirmation of the newes published the 20th of August, concerning the severall encounters betwixt the King of Sweden and Generall Tilly, with the three dayes welcome given him, upon his project of nailing the K. of Sweden ordnance. An apologie of the King of Swedens (formerly published in the Dutch) not unfit to give satisfaction to the world, concerning his not releeving of the citie Magdenburgh, wherein you shall finde a briefe relation of the Kings proceeding ever since hee began the warre in Germanie. The landing of the L. Generall, the Marquis Hamilton at Stralsunt, with all his men sound and well* (London: for Nathaniel Butter, and Nicholas Bourne, 1631), sig. A*v*, EEBO. (USTC 3015490).

Lancashire were strangly and really posessed of SATHAN and of their delivery by praier and fasting from 1597 to *A true copie of the Latine oration of the Polonian Embassadour, made to the kings Majestie at Whitehall, on Sonday the 11th of March 1621. with the English translacon annexed thereto* (1621).[119] Another way was to advertise the faithfulness of the text to the original source. On one title page the author recounting a speech made by Sir Christopher Hatton was keen to stress that, 'nothing is added, but his onely speech verbatim, as my weake memorie would serve me to doe it'.[120] This would also prove his credibility as a witness.

It was not just political or military news that demanded testaments to its veracity. Even works on strange events provided evidence of their truthfulness. At the end of *A most true report of the miraculous moving and sinking of a plot of ground, about nine acres, at Westram in Kent, which began the 18. of December, and so continued till the 29. of the same moneth. 1596* there was an impressive list of eye-witnesses to back up the tale:

> Richard Bostocke Esquire, Justice of Peace
> James Austen Gentleman
> John Studley, Vicor of Westram
> Wil. Holton Phisitian
> John Gainsford Gent.
> Erasmus Gainsford Gen.
> Gyles Gainsford Gen.
> John Dawling the elder, Gen.
> John Dawling the yonger, Gen.
> Richard Reynold
> William Reinold Gen.
> William Holmeden Gen.
> John Larmoth Gen.
> Thomas Chapman Gen.
> William Cam Gen.
> Robert Lighe yeoman
> John Chapman of Cockam, yeoman

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119   Ar. III. 89, IV. 52. (USTC 525350, 526163).

120   Sir Christopher Hatton, *A true report of the most gratious and mercifull message of hir most excellent Majestie, sent by the righte honourable Sir Christopher Hatton knight, vizchamberlaine, & one of hir Highnesse most honourable privie counsel, to the place where Thomas Appeltree should have suffered for his most traitorlike action* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1579), sig. aii, EEBO. (USTC 508780).

Richard Welles yeoman
Thomas Tollor yeoman
Giles Browne yeoman
Thomas Stacy yeoman
Richard Stidowle yeoman
Raphe Stacy yeoman
Thom. Chapman of Holdfast, yeoman
John Constable yeoman
John Chapman of Shots, yeoman
John Stone yeoman.[121]

This was not unique in sensational news items. *A true report of unknown fowls* entered on 21 November 1586 contained a smaller list of 'names of divers right worshipfull and credible persons'.[122] Once again, the list of witnesses contained men with a certain rank in society, showing who was deemed trustworthy in early modern news and in society in general.

Truth, however, was not always the main point of sensational news. Items on monstrous births, strange sights and natural disasters were written as omens and to provide moral guidance.[123] In the surviving newsbook *A Discription of Two hearings taken the 26 of november 1597 aboute a place called Dronten in Norwaye*, the author writes:

I have here to show you a strange and wonderfull token of Gods wrath figured forth in a silly Herring, in which smal fish he doth demonstrate great and dreadfull matters.[124]

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121 Chapman, *A most true report of the miraculous moving and sinking of a plot of ground, about nine acres, at Westram in Kent, which began the 18. of December, and so continued till the 29. of the same moneth. 1596*, sig. A1*v*.

122 Anon, [*A Most wonderfull, and true report, the like never hearde of before, of diverse unknown foules*][*having the fethers about their heads, and neckes, like the frysled fore-tops, lockes, and great ruffes, now in use among men, and wemen: latelie taken at Crowley in the countie of Lyncolne*] (London: Robert Robinson, 1586), p. 8, EEBO. (USTC 510450). Ar. II. 459.

123 Robert Hole, 'Incest, Consanguinity and a Monstrous Birth in Rural England, January 1600', *Social History*, 25.2 (2000), p. 195.

124 Ar. III. 113. Jan van Doetecam, *A most strange and wonderfull herring taken on the 26. day of November 1597, neere unto Drenton sometime the old and chiefe cittie of the kingdome of Norway. Having on the one side the picture of two armed men fighting, and on the other most strange characters, as in the picture is here expressed* (London: John Windet, for John Wolfe, 1598), sig. A2*v*, EEBO. (USTC 513629).

The fish was engraved with images of two men fighting and rods bound to-gether, divined as a general message of correction against the wickedness of the world.[125]

Lost titles provide for a tantalising array of divine punishments and por-tents. *An admonition to all women to see the just Judgement of GOD for the punishement of pride purtraied in a wonderfull child* entered in 1587 was de-scribed as 'a little booke Concerninge a child borne with great Ruffes'.[126] Other examples include, *The wrath of GOD in the punishmente of Twoo Drunckardes at Nekers Hofen in Almayne* [*i.e. Germany*] entered in 1581 and *A true descripcon of a yongman of Dort whiche hanged at Bou*[*n*] *ffyve dayes longe, beinge fault-lesse and howe GOD miraculously preserved him that he dyed not, it happened in this yeare 1611*.[127] Not having the text means it is not always clear what sins were being punished or why God was intervening. There were ten lost editions on monstrous births alone, along with *A brief and true report of an extroadi-nary and memorable judgement from heaven upon one ISABELL GOLDINGE otherwise BAWKOM of the age of 50 of Brighthemston* [*i.e. Brighton*] *a seatowne in Sussex the 22 of September 1603* and *Signes and wonders, or A narracon of strange Noyses and apparicons in Oxfordshire and Barkshire* from 1628.[128]

There's No Business Like the News Business

Printed news was only one part of a larger market for news, both manuscript and oral. A printed image from 1640 illustrated the 'severall places where you may hear news', from the church to the alehouse.[129] News was also read out loud. A letter from William Lynne to Archbishop Laud in 1634, complained about MP Thomas Cotton who 'maintains some peevish intelligencer in Lon-don, weekly to send him the news of the time, which he usually reads in the streets every market day at Colchester'.[130] Places where books were sold were also popular for news writers:

> *Paules* is his Walke in Winter; *Moorfields* in Sommer. Where the whole discipline, designes, projects, and exploits of the *States*, *Netherlands*,

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125 *Ibid.*, sig. A3.

126 Ar. II. 470. (USTC 524713).

127 Ar. II. 400, III. 477. (USTC 524424, 527934).

128 Ar. III. 259, IV. 197. (USTC 525613, 527185).

129 Anon, *The Severall places where you may hear news*, (London: s.n., 1640), EEBO. (USTC 3021204).

130 CSPD, Charles I (1634–1635), p. 253.

> *Poland*, *Switzer*, *Crim chan* and all, are within the Compasse of one *Quad-rangle walke*.[131]

One of the biggest debates in the history of news print is on the role of the public and opinion. Throughout the early modern period there were events that demanded and excited greater attention than others, and these were exploited by printers and writers.[132] Raymond argued that the rise of printed newsbooks during the Civil Wars saw the biggest development in public debate and opinion.[133] The period 1557 to 1640 did not have a similar 'public sphere', loosely defined as a space for widespread participation in news, ideas and opinions, and where the press formulated and spread opinion.[134] Nevertheless, entries in the Register demonstrate clearly the events which demanded more attention even if the coverage does not always survive. Alexandra Halasz argued that even without a physical 'public sphere', by the 1590s there was already a responsive public to which writers and government were appealing.[135] This can be shown in the attempts made by certain monarchs to spread printed propaganda. Censorship restrictions also suggest wariness towards allowing the 'vulgar' to discuss certain news topics.

Unfortunately, the Register cannot show exactly how widespread the debates were on the news items that were printed. However, it is clear from the addition of lost entries that news print was more widely available than is suggested by surviving editions alone. As Mark Knights noted in his work on political culture of late Stuart Britain, 'news-mania was far from being novel' but the demand for a variety of printed news items, accessible to a wide range of readers is potentially larger than first thought.[136] The impact of printed news outside of London may be questioned, but the range of news items available in the capital suggests a strong market for metropolitan consumers of news even during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

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131   Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, p. 17.
132   Joad Raymond, 'News', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 379.
133   Joad Raymond, 'The Newspaper, Public Opinion, and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century', in *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, p. 128.
134   Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (trans. Thomas Burger) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), p. 58.
135   Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern Englan*d (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 163.
136   Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 227.

Different media catered for different audiences, especially when it came to price. News became an increasingly important commodity around court, and those who could afford them relied on manuscript news services.[137] The newsletter collection of Viscount Scudamore contains correspondence from four professional news writers: John Flower, John Pory, Edward Rossingham and Ralph Starkey.[138] These manuscript news services were expensive. In 1632, Pory charged the Viscount £20 for a year of weekly newsletters.[139] The elite also had connections which focused on the spread of news through personal written correspondence and 'advices' which contained news summaries and were passed around embassies.

Printed news, on the other hand, was accessible to a wide range of readers. Single issue news pamphlets cost only 2d, with news sheets and ballads even cheaper.[140] Abraham Holland also lamented the fact that walls and posts were 'Butter'd with weekely Newes compos'd in Pauls'.[141] After the 1620s, periodic news could be bought individually, but news publishers relied increasingly on subscriptions to their serials.[142] There is little evidence of what these subscriptions would have cost, but even if it cost 2d for fifty-two weeks, the maximum cost would be 9s. This was significantly lower than the newsletter services but would still have restricted buyers below the middling sort. Even with newsletters, the elite still consumed printed news. Pory worked with Nathaniel Butter and encouraged his clients to purchase printed corantos to keep up with what inferior people were hearing.[143]

Printed news was composed of a variety of forms and information including edicts, letters, proclamations, speeches and eye-witness reports. The type of news is often mentioned in the title or the entry. Lost examples include, the *True Copie of a lettre sent from her majestie to the Lord Mayour and Cytizens of London, with a speache of master* [*JAMES*] *DALTONS to that effects* entered in 1586, *A placat, of the generall States of the Lowe Cuntries, contayninge a straight charge not to transporte anye munition for warre nor anye grayne or victuall, to*

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137   Levy, 'The Decorum of News', p. 17.

138   Ian Atherton, '"An Itch grown a Disease": Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth century', in *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, p. 41.

139   *Ibid.*, p. 41.

140   Pettegree, *The Invention of News*, p. 207.

141   John Davies, *A scourge for paper-persecutors. Or Papers complaint, compil'd in ruthful rimes, against the paper-spoylers of these times. By I.D. With a continu'd just inquisition of the same subject, fit for this season. Against paper-persecutors. By. A.H.* (London: for Henry Holland, and George Gibbes, 1625), p. 6, EEBO. (USTC 3012143).

142   Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 113.

143   Frearson, 'The Distribution and Readership of London Corantos in the 1620s', p. 18.

the leagers Rebelles against the Kinge of Ffraunce and Navarre from 1591 and *An Edict of the Ffrench kinge, uppon the articles agreed with monsieur the Duke of MERSEUR / from the Reducinge of the Cytties of Nantes and others of Brytayne into the obedyence of his majestie* from 1598.[144]

The style of language also differed depending on the type of news. Some sheets and pamphlets simply contained the text of a speech or proclamation indicating that a number of readers had some understanding of the context and meaning of these texts.[145] The lost news item *A Declaracon of the prince of ORANGE exhibited unto the deputies of the generall estates the ixth of January 1580* would only be of use if the consumer already had some knowledge of contemporary events in the Low Countries, and was aware of its significance.[146] Sometimes news entries were put together to make a more profitable news item. Nathaniel Newbery entered *The French kings letter to his mother, the 17th of March 1619* [N.S.] on 27 March 1619 and *Two letters of the Queene Mother to the French kinge as also foure More to the Chancellour, keeper of the seales, president JANNIN, and Duk[e] DE MAYENNE with the letter of the Prince of PIE[D] MONT to her* a few days later on 1 April.[147] However, they survive together as a single news pamphlet with separate title pages and pagination, but continuous signatures.[148]

The majority of news works provided more than just an account of an event. This is because printed news had a range of purposes, not just providing information, but also as entertainment and propaganda. News pamphlets on crimes and monstrous births had both a moral and entertainment value. Reports of battles and wars also tended to have a Protestant or anti-Catholic focus. It is already well documented how the Duke of Buckingham used Thomas Walkley to print propaganda on what turned out to be a disastrous campaign on the Ile

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144   Ar. II. 455, 595, III. 113. (USTC 524671, 525041, 525376).

145   H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1558 to 1603: Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 234.

146   Ar. II. 365. (USTC 524248).

147   Ar. III. 644. (USTC 3008389).

148   Marie de Medicis, Louis XIII, Victor-Ame Savoie, *Newes out of France: concerning great troubles likely to ensue, by occasion of the departure of the Queene Mother from Blois and the causes thereof. Contayned in the letters of the said Queene Mother, unto her sonne the French King, and his answere thereunto; manifesting the motives of his taking up armes, and against whom he entends to imploy them. Dated the 17. of March, 1619. With foure other letters of the Queene Mother, to the Lord Chancelor, Keeper of the Seales; President Jannin, and Duke de Mayenne, and the Prince of Pyemont his letter unto her, concerning these affaires. Faithfully translated, according to the French copie* (London: Thomas Snodham, for Nathaniel Newbery, 1619), EEBO. (USTC 3008389).

de Ré.[149] Readers had to be taught to read periodic news as corantos contained a straight flow of reports put together with no explanation or context, often dependent on having read the previous issues.[150] Some editors were better at guiding the readers than others, but these phases were intermittent.[151] It was not until the lapse of the licensing act in 1641 and the Civil Wars that newsbooks could become more opinionated and factional.

The variety of news entries in the Register suggests there were different audiences for different news. Entries went from local supernatural events to detailed transcriptions of the latest treaty from the wars in the Low Countries. This is best demonstrated by examining the entries made in a single year of the Register. One of the poorest years for the survival of printed news was 1579/80. In that year alone, twenty out of the twenty-five news entries cannot be traced to a surviving copy. Nevertheless, the entries demonstrate the number of different stationers who were entering news items in the sixteenth century and the type of news that was making it into print. Fourteen stationers entered news items. These included seven on earthquakes that had hit the south of England, four on the Low Countries, including declarations and letters by the Prince of Orange, a murder, a monster, an infanticide and *The report of a great boie borne in Pountfret* [*i.e. Pontefract*] (1580). Out of these, only two on the earthquakes survived along with two entries on the last minute royal pardon on the scaffold for Thomas Appletree, a man who almost accidentally shot the queen:

> May it therefore please thee to peruse this little booke, wherein as in a loking glasse, thou shale beholde to thy great comfort, the verie effects of justice, justlie executed against an offender … and further, thou shalt to thy joye beholde the rare and singular mercies offered unto him.[152]

This can be compared with the list of news items from 1628/29, a similarly poor year for survival from the seventeenth century. In contrast, only three

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149   Thomas Cogswell, '"Published by Authorite": Newsbooks and the Duke of Buckingham's Expedition to the Île de Ré', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67.1 (2004), p. 17.

150   Pettegree, *The Invention of News*, p. 9.

151   Nicholas Brownlees, *Corantos and Newsbooks: Language and Discourse in the First English Newspapers (1620–1641)* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 1999), p. 87.

152   Anon, *A briefe discourse of the most haynous and traytorlike fact of Thomas Appeltree for which hee should have suffred death on Tuisday the one and twentieth of Julie last: wherein is set downe his confession. Whereunto is annexed, the report of the message sent to the place of execution from hir most excellent Majestie, by the right honourable Sir Christopher Hatton Knight, vizchaberlain to hir highnesse* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1579), sig. aii, EEBO. (USTC 508677).

stationers made news entries this year, twenty-five out of the twenty-eight entries were for *Currantes till the 20 of March 1628 [i.e. 1629]* and there were no domestic or supernatural news items.[153] This shows the dramatic changes in the type of news being entered after the arrival of periodic news. Serials may have provided an assortment of news in each issue, but their creation dramatically reduced the variety of single issue news items available.

The Language of News

News had a long tradition of oral and manuscript dissemination throughout early modern Europe thanks to the development of roads and postal services.[154] This is shown in entries such as *The true newes from Ffraunce broughte by the laste post the 23th of September 1590* entered three days later on 26 September.[155] Stationers relied on a network of news across Europe. Reliance on these networks caused problems when news could not get through because of bad weather or instability on the continent. A letter to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1638 regrets that, 'the packet-boat is not come from Dunkirk, so that I can write no variety of news'.[156] This had an impact on what news was printed, especially for periodic news which relied heavily on a regular supply of reports and letters from continental Europe.

Considering the transnational nature of the news market, it is interesting that translated works entered in the Register represent less than 10% of foreign news entries. Not all translated items will be listed as such in the Register: coranto entries do not mention any languages. This low level of translations, though, is confirmed by pamphlets entered that survive from the period.[157] Translated items that cannot be found in a surviving English copy can at least be traced to their original continental counterparts. Thirteen of the items entered in French cannot be traced to an existing copy. *Les Lauriers Du Roy, Contre les foudres pratiques par l'Espagnol* entered by Wolfe in 1590, however, survives as news pamphlets printed in both Tours and Caen.[158] Unfortunately only a handful of entries in the Register specifically reference their foreign

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153   Ar. IV. 216.
154   Johannes Weber, 'Strassburg 1605. The Origins of the Newspaper in Europe', *German History*, 24 (2006), p. 343.
155   Ar. II. 563. (USTC 524967).
156   CSPD, Charles I (1637–1638), p. 493.
157   Barker, '*"Newes Lately Come"*', p. 231.
158   Ar. II. 569. (USTC 3127, 8489).

counterparts. The lost *Newes out of Germany of the most bloody murders that ever were committed* entered in 1607 was 'translated out of the Dutch [i.e. German] and French copie'.[159]

News publications entered in a foreign language provide a glimpse of where news was coming from. Fifty-four news items were entered in a language other than English, the overwhelming majority entered in French. These were mainly printed by John Wolfe during the French Wars of Religion. A Letter from writer Richard Hackluyt in Paris to her Majesty's council in August 1588 explained, 'it is very necessary that if we have any good newes it should be prynted in French and the copies sent over with speed, whereof I beseech you advertise Mr. Secretary'.[160] Given Wolfe's reputation for printing government propaganda, this may illustrate why Wolfe frequently entered news items in French. Only seven news items were entered in a language other than French: Latin, Dutch and German. All of these survive, although only one was printed in the original language.

Foreign news often needed to be translated. Thirty-one of the items entered in a foreign language were 'to be translated into Englishe'. These entries emphasise the importance of speed as some stationers clearly felt the need to enter the items as soon as they received them.[161] A further forty-one entries had been translated before entry, presenting a wider range of European languages, although they were still translated mainly from French, Dutch and German. The prevalence of news from French, Dutch and German sources is due to the events covered, the relatively short distance between the countries and the long connection with Dutch printers.[162] Due to the distrust of Catholic news only a handful of news items were translated from Spanish, Italian or Portuguese.[163] The cost of bringing in news from abroad and getting it translated would have made translated news pamphlets more expensive. This might explain why they have a higher survival rate of 82%.

Not much is known about the translators of foreign news. Unlike the authors of more prestigious works, their names are not mentioned in the Register, and evidence can only be found on surviving copies or other documents. Wolfe is known to have used Edward Aggas, Anthony Munday and Anthony Chute as translators.[164] Edward Aggas, who was also a bookseller, entered

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159   Ar. III. 361. (USTC 525732).

160   *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland*, p. 258.

161   Bennett, *English Books and their Readers 1558 to 1603*, p. 222.

162   Barker, '*"Newes Lately Come"*', p. 233.

163   Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News*, p. 112.

164   Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1558 to 1603*, p. 102.

seven foreign news items. Aggas entered the first translated entry, *An Oration latelie pronounced by the Ambassadours of the protestant Prynces of Germanye unto the Ffrenche kynge together with the kynges answere to the said Ambassudors faythfullie translated out of the Frenche* on 15 April 1587.[165] The entry does not survive, but is likely to be based on the news pamphlet *Discours des ambassadeurs d'Allemaigne qui sont venus vers le roy pour moyenner la paix en France* printed in Paris in 1586.[166] Translators stayed close to the original text, not only because it saved time, but being 'faithfully translated' added credibility to the work.[167] It also kept translators out of trouble when negative news was printed. An anonymous translator working for Butter and Bourne in 1625 wrote in a coranto:

> I translate only the Newes verbatim out of the Tongues or Languages in which they are written, and having no skill in Prognostication, leave therefore the judgement to the Reader, & especially when there are tidings which contradict one another.[168]

Another twenty-three news entries were printed in multiple languages. The most interesting of these are entries which were to be printed in both French and English. Sometimes this indicates a single edition containing the news both in French and in an English translation. However, there is evidence that these entries represented two separate versions. Both *The Declarations of the French kinge and the kinge of NAVARRA upon the truce Concluded betwene yer [their] majesties, Together with the kinge of NAVARRAS Declaration at his passage over the Ryver of Loire* from 1589 and *Le vray. Discours: de la victoire merveilleuse obtenue par Le Roy de France et de Navarre HENRY QUATRIEME en la bataille donnee contre les rebelles ligues Pres le bourg D'Iury en la Plaine Saint André le. 18 de mars 1590* survive in a French and English version.[169] The French

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165   Ar. II. 468. (USTC 524711).

166   Anon, *Discours des ambassadeurs d'Allemaigne qui sont venus vers le roy pour moyenner la paix en France* (Paris: pour Christophe Royer, 1586). (USTC 77649).

167   Barker, '"Newes Lately Come"', pp. 239–240.

168   *Mercurius Britannicus*, June 28. Numb. 28. The continuation of our weekely newes, from the 21. of June, unto the 28. of the same (London: for Nathaniel Butter, and Nicholas Bourne, 1625), p. 5, as quoted in Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, p. 207. (USTC 3011956).

169   Ar. II. 521, ESTC S103953, S92931. (USTC 511216). Ar. II. 544, English version: Anon, *The true discourse of the wonderfull victorie* (London: Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Man, 1590). (USTC 511434). French version: Henry IV, *Le vray discours de la victoire merveilleuse* (London: Thomas Orwin pour Thomas Man, 1590).

versions have much lower survival rates suggesting that fewer of these were printed or were not collected.

There were a number of reasons why printing in multiple languages may have been considered profitable. During the troubles in France, French Huguenots had sought refuge in England, providing an ideal market for those desperate to hear what was going on back home. It was also a way of making more money out of a single piece of news. Reading French was not limited to refugees or the elite. French grammar books, such as *The Ffrenche Alphabet, together with the treasure of the Frenche tonge* (1592), were being entered in the Register at the same time as French news items.[170] This meant that, while the news was being translated, the stationer could sell the French version. The English version would then be ready for non-French speaking customers. The fact that these entries only occur in the Register for a few years in the late 1580s and early 1590s suggests that this practice was not as profitable as the stationers might have hoped. Nevertheless, even though the news market in England was aimed at English vernacular readers, these entries show that there was a market for news pamphlets printed in a foreign language.

Conclusion

Research into printed news has focused mainly on foreign news, and the development of serial news print after the 1620s. For the period 1560–1620, however, news publications represented around 10% of all the titles entered in the Register. From the beginning of the Register then, news played an important part within the print industry in England. The lost items reveal the range and variety of news people were reading and stationers were printing that have previously been obscured by the vagaries of survival.

There were clearly a number of news markets in early modern England, both for publishers and consumers. Foreign news, domestic news, supernatural tales, serial publications and single-issue news items all played a different role in the printed news market. Even though news was also spread orally and in manuscript, the scale of printed news cannot be ignored. Survival rates have had an impact on the perceived availability of printed news, with the inclusion of lost titles suggesting there was a stronger market for printed news amongst metropolitan consumers that first thought.

Printed news encompassed a wide scope, catering to a number of different formats, purposes, topics and readers. The pamphlet was the most popular

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170 Ar. II. 614. (USTC 512159).

format for news during this period, and this persisted into the latter half of the seventeenth century. However, it is important not to forget the large number of news ballads that do not survive from the 1580s and 1590s. French news dominated the foreign news industry, both in terms of the events covered and in the languages from which these works were translated. Events, in particular, had a huge impact on the supply and demand of news, with the French Wars of Religion, the Dutch War of Independence and the Thirty Years War dominating the pamphlets.

The majority of the 200 stationers entering news in the Register only ever entered one or two items. This is because, as a genre, news sheets and pamphlets could be printed quickly and used to supplement larger projects. Serial news production was a much riskier undertaking, which is why the business was shared between five stationers. It also meant that, throughout the 1620s and 1630s, the news market was dominated by these five men. Not only did this have a significant impact on the number of stationers who were printing news, but it also reduced the variety and range of printed news items available. The percentage of supernatural items dropped significantly to below 5% of total entries at this time. The number of single issue news sheets and pamphlets also declined dramatically after the invention of periodic news. Those who could not afford or understand the events covered in the periodicals, or who wanted to read about the latest execution or monstrous birth, had to turn to ballads.

The most active news stationers tended to specialise in either domestic or foreign news. Foreign news relied on a supply of news from the continent and clearly only a small number of stationers had access to this. This is why the Register entries are dominated by Wolfe and Butter. Together they account for over a third of all news entries in the Register. It is important to note that this is a third of all *foreign* news and is mainly due to the domination of periodic news in the 1620s and 1630s. Excluding periodic news, Wolfe and Butter only represent around 15% of the single issue entries, and only printed a handful of domestic items. The domestic news industry therefore was much more open, with sources easier and cheaper to find.

A Godly Exposition of Lost Religious Print

In 1601, Robert Barker, the Queen's Printer, wrote a letter to the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company. In it Barker complained that fellow Company members Bonham Norton and John Norton, along with the Edinburgh-based bookseller Andrew Hart, were illegally printing Bibles and Psalms in metre. To make matters worse, they were being printed overseas in Dort by 'persons … of the most disordered and worst disposed sort'.[1] Not only was this infringing Barker's privilege to print Bibles but it also ran the risk of seditious works coming into England. It is not clear if any action was taken against the stationers, possibly because the works were aimed at the Scottish market. However, copies of these Dort editions survive in a handful of libraries.[2]

This incident highlights two of the main issues surrounding the entrance of religious texts in the Register. Firstly, the most important works such as the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer and the Book of Psalms, were all held under privilege or patent. Secondly, a large number of religious books were imported as they could be produced more cheaply on the continent. Neither privileged works nor imports were entered in the Register.

In spite of this, religious works account for almost a third of all entries in the Register. Books entered include sermons, moral and devotional works on Christian life, study aids to help with understanding texts and the performance of worship, as well as items of theology, doctrine and controversy. These came in a range of formats, from single-sheet images and tables to illustrated folios consisting of hundreds of pages. Figure 3.1 shows the diverse and flourishing religious publishing market that continued to grow across the decades. While in the 1560s religious works accounted for less than 20% of the overall entries, by the 1630s, this share had risen significantly to 45%. Religious books entered in the Register therefore provide an excellent opportunity to compare survival and entry rates within a large and varied genre.

Print was an important tool for reformers. The German Reformation in particular showed how effectively vernacular print could be used to spread new religious ideas.[3] Before 1535, no English Bibles were printed, and the

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1 *Acts of the Privy Council of England. New Series. Vol. XXXII. A.D. 1601–1604*, ed. John Roche Dasent (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1907), pp. 14–15.

2 ESTC S90497, S90814. (USTC 3000682, 3000511).

3 Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 95.
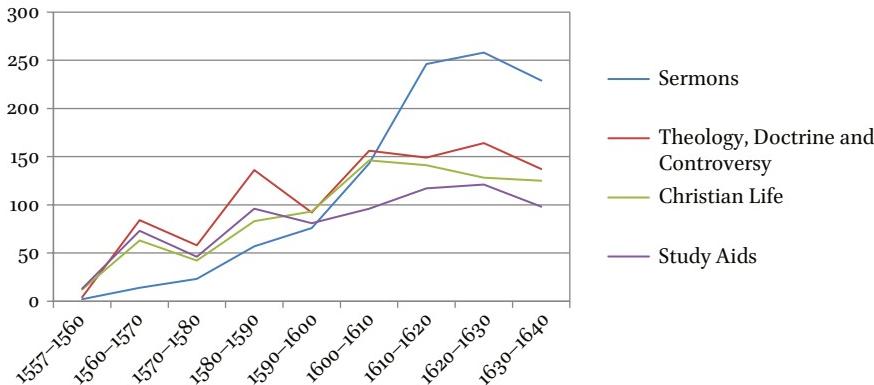
FIGURE 3.1   *Religious works entered into the Stationers' Company Register, by topic, 1557–1640.*
             See corresponding figure in Colour Section.

six editions of the New Testament available in English were imports.[4] It was only under Edward VI that a developed market for vernacular religious works began to emerge, although when Mary I ascended the throne, reformation printers withdrew and tighter restrictions were imposed.[5] Originally, Philip and Mary granted the Stationers' Company's charter in order to protect the Catholic Church in England from 'seditious and heretical books rhymes and treatises … daily published by divers scandalous malicious schismatical and heretical persons'.[6] It is an interesting quirk of fate that only two years later, the Company would be responsible for ensuring books adhered to the Protestant Act of Uniformity in 1559.[7]

The printing of vernacular Bibles, prayer books and catechisms flourished in England during the reign of Elizabeth I, and this continued into the early Stuart period.[8] Under James I came the freedom of wider religious debate, leading to a questioning of authority which would ultimately lead to the near ending of book regulation under the Stationers in 1641.[9]

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4   Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501–1557 Volume One 1501–1546* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 343.

5   Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501–1557 Volume Two 1547–1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 825.

6   Mary I, 'The Stationers' Company Charter' (1557), in Ar. I. xxviii.

7   Elizabeth I, 'Announcing Injunctions for Religion' (1559), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume II The Later Tudors (1553–1587)*, eds. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (London: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 128–129.

8   Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 182.

9   Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 226.

Research on Protestant print culture in England has focused mainly on how different sets of reformers disseminated ideas of salvation and Christian behaviour, and how successfully these were absorbed by the laity and clergymen. Patrick Collinson emphasised the importance of the Bible and scripture in influencing popular Protestant culture.[10] Others, such as Tessa Watt and Ian Green, have focused their research on the reformers' use of specific genres to spread 'godly' ideas.[11] More recently, Alec Ryrie highlighted the importance of reading and writing to a Protestant's identity.[12] Historians have also looked at the role of stationers behind large religious projects, in particular the influence of John Day in the printing of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.[13] All these works focus on the analysis of extant print. However, low rates of survival mean that the influence and production of some types of religious print have been obscured. While titles in the Register do not always allow for detailed levels of theological or doctrinal analysis, they do indicate the overall themes being disseminated in print by religious writers, as well as providing indications of use and audience.

Privileges and patents were a key part of religious publishing in England. Elizabeth's religious reforms required access to scripture and emphasised uniformity. Printing official works for the Church of England was carried out by a small handful of printers. The King/Queen's Printer was licensed to print the Bible and New Testament in English, as well as the Book of Common Prayer and the Book of Psalms. Other printers held patents for printing Bibles in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Welsh. William Seres held a patent for primers under Edward, and in the 1570s was granted the privilege on all private prayers, including primers and psalters.[14] John Day was licensed to print all the works by English reformers John Ponet and Thomas Becon, as well as the ABC catechism.[15] Once again, these privileges were first given to Day by Edward.[16]

10   Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), p. 95.

11   Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 1; Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 8.

12   Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 257–314.

13   David Scott Kastan, 'Little Foxes', in Christopher Highley and John N. King (eds.), *John Foxe and his World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 121.

14   CPR, Edward VI, Vol. V (1547–1553), p. 50. CPR, Elizabeth I, Vol. I (1558–1560), p. 54.

15   Peter Blayney, 'William Cecil and the Stationers', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550–1990* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), p. 20.

16   CPR, Edward VI, Vol. V, p. 43.

The Seres and Day privileges later formed the basis for the English Stock authorised by James in 1603.

The English Stock brought together titles of the best-selling religious works, often previously held under patent or privilege, into a Company monopoly.[17] When members printed books from this stock, money would be paid into a fund for poor stationers.[18] Sometimes stock entries appear in the Register, with entries from the English Stock in 1620 showing religious titles being printed for use as school books.[19] John Barnard used Stationer stock records from 1660 to 1700 to calculate the loss rate of official psalms, ABCs, psalters and primers. Barnard found that survival was often dependent on format. Out of the tens of thousands of copies of the small format primer printed, only a single copy survived.[20] Without more evidence, it is impossible to estimate the loss rates of privileged religious print during the period of the Register.

In comparison, religious books entered in the Register have the highest survival rate of any genre (70%). The sheer number of entries, however, still leaves over 1000 works that cannot be traced to a surviving copy. To aid analysis here, religious entries in the Register have been separated into four distinct categories; Christian Life, Study Aids, Sermons, and Theology, Doctrine and Controversy. Within these categories, entries have been further sorted into topics such as prayer books, commentaries and anti-Catholic tracts in order to highlight the differences in survival and production between the various types of religious print.

Evidence of Expense

Unlike ballads and news pamphlets, there was great diversity in the price and format of religious works. When buying religious print, unbound prices went from 1d for single-sheet items and small catechisms, 3d to 6d for sermons, and up to 25s for a vernacular Bible.[21] Formats also changed over time, with

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17 James I, 'Grant of James I. to the Stationers' Company of Primers, Psalters, Almanacks and Prognostications for ever' (1603), in Ar. III. 44.

18 H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640 Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the reigns of James I and Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 53.

19 Ar. III. 671.

20 J. Barnard, 'The Survival and Loss Rates of Psalms, ABCs, Psalters and Primers from the Stationers' Stock, 1660–1700', *The Library*, 6 21.2 (1999), p. 150.

21 Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 41.

sermons becoming shorter and cheaper under James.[22] Eighty entries provide data on format. These are mainly single-sheet items or works described as a pamphlet, little book or small thing. In addition, 244 entries cost more than the normal 4d/6d entry fee, indicating more expensive works. Format and cost are important considerations when looking at reasons for survival and, while evidence in the Register is incomplete, some conclusions can be reached.

Religious images make up an important component of the single-sheet entries. In domestic environments religion was not just delivered through the Bible, but also through images on walls, furniture and embroidery.[23] Religious images in England were not designed to be devotional in the iconic sense, but in a meditative one, reminding people of important scriptural texts and teaching godly behaviour.[24] In contrast to Continental Europe there was no great woodcut tradition in England.[25] This is why only twenty-eight religious images are entered, seventeen of which were by the French religious émigré Gyles Godet in the 1560s. These included the lost images *The geneolige or lyne of our savyour CHRISTE as touchynge his humanyte frome NOEE to DAVYD*, *The pycture of Tru Sobryete* and *The fygure of Tru Religion*, all entered on the same date in 1562/63.[26] There was also a move away from religious images during Elizabeth's reign.[27] Indeed, no religious images were entered between Godet's death in 1568 and 1606 when there was a surge in the image trade under James.[28] Given their fragility, it is unsurprising that these images only have a 14% survival rate.

Tables were another form of religious broadsheet with a low survival rate. Only nineteen of these appear to be entered in the Register, though there may be other broadsheet tables which are simply not described as such, but entered

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22   *Ibid.*, p. 211.

23   Scott Mandelbrote, 'The Bible and Didactic Literature in Early Modern England', in Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell (eds.), *Didactic Literature in England 1500–1800 Expertise Constructed* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 21; Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2010).

24   Helen Pierce, 'Images, Representation, and Counter-representation', in Maureen Bell, John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 4: 1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 265.

25   Martin Ingram, 'From Reformation to Toleration: Popular Religious Cultures in England, 1540–1690', in Tim Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture In England, c.1500–1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), p. 98; See also Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books 1536–1603* (2 vols., Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval & Renaissance Studies, 1998).

26   Ar. I. 212, 213. (USTC 523279, 523298, 523297).

27   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 135.

28   Sheila O'Connell, 'Godet, Gyles (fl. c. 1547–1568)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64988> [9 August 2016]; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 145. Ar. III. 321.

under their title. These tables were often pasted on walls to aid teaching and memory of basic religious tenets.[29] The surviving table on the genealogy of Adam, entered 1 September 1595, reckoned that 'all that looke for salvation by Scripture … should have a special care to know our Lordes line'.[30] Lost tables displayed simple prayers and meditations as well as lists of the Ten Commandments and the seven deadly sins. Lost items also include three entries titled *The table of good counsel*. These were entered over a number of years by a variety of printers.[31] Once again, the fragility of this broadsheet format has led to a mere 11% survival rate.

Entry fees can give some clues to the presence of larger format, or potentially more expensive items. Sixty-nine entries had an entrance fee of 1s or more. This was double the standard entry fee. The most expensive religious entry was *CALVYNS institution*, entered in 1561/62 for seven shillings.[32] It survives as a 1,000 page folio in multiple collections on both sides of the Atlantic.[33] On first analysis, these expensive works appear to have the same survival rate as religious works overall (74%). However, nearly all of the expensive works were entered in the sixteenth century when by comparison, religious works only had a 59% survival rate. This illustrates both the effect of cost on survival and the decrease in the entrance of expensive religious works in the seventeenth century. These works were mainly theological texts or commentaries.

It might be that these larger texts were entered but were never printed. However, a handful of works are referenced in Andrew Maunsell's *English Printed Books* catalogue compiled in 1595. *A comentarye upon the xv. psalmes called 'psalmi gradum' faithfullye copied oute of the lectures of MARTIN LUTHER* entered by Thomas Vautrollier in 1577 at a cost of 12d, cannot be traced to a surviving copy.[34] It is highly likely that this is the *Commentarie on the Psalmes of degrees, viz. from the 120. to the 133. psalm. translated by Henrie Bull. Printed by Thomas Vautrollier. 1577. in 4* referenced by Maunsell in 1595.[35]

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29   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 227.

30   Ar. III. 48. Hugh Broughton, *Our Lord his line of fathers from Adam, and his predecessours in the kingdome from Saloman to Jechonias, in whome ended the house: and from Abiud to Joseph the husband of Marie: with fit notation of their names* (London: Gabriel Simpson, and William White, 1595), EEBO. (USTC 512725).

31   Ar. III. 133, 184, 227. (USTC 525401, 525484, 525551).

32   Ar. I. 178. (USTC 505972).

33   ESTC S107157. (USTC 505972).

34   Ar. II. 322. (USTC 527537).

35   Andrew Maunsell 'The First Part of the Catalogue of English Printed Books', *Andrew Maunsell: The Catalogue of English Printed Books (1595)* (London: Gregg Press in association with the Archive Press, 1965), p. 69.

An Introduction to Christian Life (and Death)

> Nothing is more profitable in this world (gentle Reader) than honest pre-
> cepts, good counsels, worthie and godly perswasions, how to flee vice,
> and follow virtue ... for by this meanes comon wealthes are maintained,
> the true limmit or direction of life frequented, and all good & godly fami-
> lies governed.[36]

Religion in early modern England permeated all aspects of life, both earthly
and eternal. While the structure and doctrine of the Church continued to be
debated, there was a certain consistency in works on everyday Christian life.
Throughout the period, these works encouraged godly behaviour, offered spiri-
tual guidance and provided devotional stories and songs. Some lost examples
include *The chippes of salvation hewed out of the tymber of faithe* entered in
1579, *A godly and learned treatise declaring the waye and meanes to attayne unto
the very staye and perfect quietnes of the mynde &c* from 1595, *A warninge peece
to bribers* from 1603 and *A sweet poesie for GODs saints to smell on, conteyninge
manie sweete and choise flowers* from 1623.[37] Mary Hampson Patterson believes
that these guides for living and thinking are extremely important in getting to
grips with the core beliefs of early modern Protestantism.[38] The Christian Life
category, however, has the largest example of lost items, obscuring access to
these useful sources.

Entries in this category focused mainly on sin, death and improving every-
day behaviour. This is similar to the religious ballads mentioned in a previous
chapter. Lost titles include, *A playne declaracon or description of Sinne, death.
the devil and hell* from 1593, *A Receipt against swearing* in 1623 and *The Drunck-
ards Motto with an Expression of GODs Comandments. &c* entered in 1637.[39]
The advice against sin is generally consistent, although there are a few that
go against the norm. Four items were entered against the vices of gambling,
including the lost 1604 entry *A bryef Caveat or motive for Christian houshold-
ers to perswade them to banyshe out of their houses Dycinge Cardinge Tablinge*

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36   Hermannus Schottenius, *The government of all estates, wherein is contained the perfect
      way to an honest life gathered out of many learned authors, a boke right profitable for all es-
      tates, but especiallie for the training* [*and*] *bringing up of the younger sort* (London: Henry
      Denham, for Thomas Hacket, 1566), sig. A2, EEBO. (USTC 506587).

37   Ar. II. 345, 295, III. 36, IV. 107. (USTC 524143, 525251, 525561, 526261).

38   Mary Hampson Patterson, *Domesticating the Reformation: Protestant Best Sellers, Private
      Devotion, and the Revolution of English Piety* (Teaneck, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University
      Presses, 2007), p. 33.

39   Ar. II. 638, IV. 99, 374. (USTC 525126, 526242, 526793).

and other gaminge for money &c, yet a 1606 entry promoted cockfighting as an acceptable pastime.[40] There were also periods when certain vices were targeted. The three works critical of dancing were entered by different printers in the late 1570s and early 1580s. These surviving works had a small format, but were all over fifty pages long. A number of lost works may be smaller, moral pamphlets, but without more format information, it is difficult to be certain.

Death was an important subject for devotional works. Works of this character draw on the tradition of the mediaeval *Ars Moriendi* (Art of Dying). Although the Reformation had removed the sacrament of extreme unction, it was still important to prepare for the next life, for those that 'bathe themselves in their fleshly pleasures, and wallowe like Swine in their filthinesse ... dye most miserablie'.[41] Forty-four works helped readers prepare for the end of mortal life, while another thirteen entries spoke of the impending Judgement Day. These were very real fears for many people in early modern England. One surviving work entered in 1561/62 as *How a Crestian man oughte to behave hym selfe in the Daunger of Deathe* provided a convenient reminder of all the ways a body could perish:

> Sicknesse may consume it: wild beastes may devoure it: the fier may burne it: the water may drown it: the ayer may infecte it: a snare may choke it: the prickinge of a pinne may destroy it.[42]

Fortunately, the soul could be saved.

Entries were not just about presenting perfect Christian behaviour, but about attaining salvation. Reformers portrayed life as a constant struggle for virtue against temptation.[43] Hence, a number of works spoke of repentance and provided guides for sinners. Thirty-two of these were presented as a rhetorical mirror or looking glass, revealing the readers' own shortcomings and offering ways to improve, including the lost works *The comqueste of synne*

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40   Ar. III. 270, 333. (USTC 525621, 527994).

41   John More, *A lively anatomie of death wherein you may see from whence it came, what it is by nature, and what by Christ. Togeather with the power, strength, and sting thereof: as also a preparative against the same. Tending to teach men to lyve, and die well to the Lord* (London, Gabriel Simpson, for William Jones, 1596), sig. B2*v*-B3, EEBO. (USTC 513235). Ingram, 'From Reformation to Toleration', p. 110.

42   Ar. I. 177. Otto Werdmuller (trans. Miles Coverdale), *A moste fruitefull, pithie, and learned treatise, how a Christian man ought to behave himselfe in the daunger of death and how they are to be releved and comforted, whose deare friendes are departed out of this worlde, moste necessarie for this our unfortunate age [and] sorowfull dayes* (London: Hugh Singleton, 1574), sig. Bv, EEBO. (USTC 507894).

43   Patterson, *Domesticating the Reformation*, p. 74.

Wherin ys lamented the synfull estate of this presents age entered 1566/67 and
*A booke Called Heavens hope /Or mans happines In A Christall mirror of A godlie
lyfe* from 1602.[44] Another entry, *The maner to dye well*, which cannot be found,
was also said to 'Concerneth death hell Judgement and the Joyes of heaven'.[45]

In a world of high infant mortality and illness, works of consolation and
comfort were printed to deal with the suffering of both body and soul. These
ranged from more general crises of faith to individual events. Seven religious
entries dealt specifically with the misery of plague. Three of these cannot be
traced to a surviving copy: *A spretuall preserviture for the plage and also for the
sowle* (1563/64), *Comfortable meditacons ex[h]ortacons and prayers Concerning
the plague* (1625) and *Two divine protections or Medicines against the plague
namely Repentance and prayer* (1636).[46] These works often had both a spiritual
and practical purpose. The author of one surviving plague work highlighted
these two roles in his dedication:

> 1. To preserve your bodyes from infection or death by the Plague (if the
> Lord see it good for your soules, and as Christians you should not desire it
> otherwise.) 2. To keep your soules from fainting, with immoderate Griefe
> or Feare for your Friends, or your owne Visitation by the Plague.[47]

Ronald K. Rittgers' research on consolation literature in early modern Germany
identified the important theme of self-preparation to deal with suffering. He
also detected an increase in the publication of works of consolation dealing
with specific problems.[48] These later Lutheran ideas are clearly reflected in
the entries in the Register, demonstrating the influence of religious ideas from
outside the English Church.

Even though music and verse played an important role in religious life, de-
votional songs and stories entered in the Register have some of the lowest rates
of survival. The first chapter showed the prevalence of religious ballads, while

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44   Ar. I. 338, III. 201. (USTC 523649, 525510).

45   Ar. III. 227. (USTC 525549).

46   Ar. I. 231, IV. 142, 365. (USTC 523316, 526304, 526763).

47   William Chibauld, *A cordiall of comfort To preserve the heart, from fainting with griefe or
     feare: for our friends, or our owne visitation, by the plague. Also a thankes-giving to almightie
     God, for staying the visitation in London, and the suburbs thereof. Both which may be of use
     to Christians in other places, that are cleere, visited, or recovered* (London: William Jones,
     for Nicholas Bourne, and Edward Brewster, 1625), sig. ꝟ5*v*, EEBO. (USTC 3012429).

48   Ronald K. Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering: Pastoral Theology and Lay Piety in Late
     Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 87,
     p. 193.

metrical psalm books were held under privilege by John Day and then the English stock.[49] Translating scripture and doctrine into metre made religious concepts more memorable and more accessible.[50] This includes this dialogue on the problems of dancing at church festivities:

> **Custome**
> Though often dauncing some mislike,
> somtime use it they may:
> At whitsontide for churches welth,
> ells youth will nothing pay.
>
> **Veritie**
> Sinne may at no time well be used,
> we ought abhorre it ay:
> And cheefly at that feast we ought,
> no silthie sport to play.[51]

The Register includes examples of pastoral poems and stories from the Bible, including lost books such as *The holye historye of our lorde and saviour JESUS CHRISTes nativitie lyfe, actes, miracle, Doctrine, deathe[,] passion, Resurreccon and asscention gathered into Englishe meeter* from 1594.[52] Excluding religious ballads, however, only a small number of religious songs are entered. With only a 44% survival rate, their presence in the corpus of literature studied by scholars is further diminished.

There are twenty entries for religious music, two thirds of which are lost. This is the lowest survival rate of any sub-category of religious work. The biggest loss is in editions of Christmas carols. These could be both sacred and profane and were sung at a number of different occasions. One jest book tells the tale of a knight who invited tenants to sing carols at a Christmas feast. The knight told the men that they could not have a drink unless those that were masters of their wife sang a Christmas carol. After a muted response, the knight turned to the women and told them to sing a Christmas carol if they

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49　J. McMullin, 'The Bible Trade', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 472.

50　Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 24.

51　Thomas Lovell, *A dialogue between custom and veritie concerning the use and abuse of dauncing and minstrelsie* (London: John Allde, 1581), sig. Ci*v*, EEBO. (USTC 509342).

52　Ar. II. 648. (USTC 527471).

were masters of their husbands, 'whereupon they fell all to such a singing, that there was never heard such a catterwalling peece of Musicke'.[53]

Unfortunately, none of the ten Christmas carol entries survive. As Christmas carols are seasonal, it is likely that these works were designed for short term use and then discarded at the end of the festive period. The importance of seasonality is reinforced by the fact that nearly all the hymn books entered survive. Format may also have had an impact. One Christmas carol entry is listed as a pamphlet and another as a 'small booke', and they were both entered by the ballad publisher Thomas Lambert.[54] Three of the lost Christmas Carols have a writer's name; Christopher Payne, Moses Powell and H.C.[55] The inclusion of a name suggests they were quite well known yet I cannot find any indications of other works or who they were. One possibility for H.C. is the ballad writer Humphrey Crouch who was active in 1638 when the entry was made.[56] The entry was made by bookseller Richard Harper who printed a number of other works by Humphrey Crouch, and another work by H.C. which was attributed to Crouch which contains a prayer.[57]

Christmas carols declined in popularity during the sixteenth century, only surviving in manuscript within Catholic collections.[58] This explains why the Christmas carols were entered mainly in the 1560s, and then not again until the 1630s. The attitude to Christmas carols seems to have changed in 1633 at the same time William Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury and a more Catholic attitude returned to the church in England.

Selling Sermons

In previous chapters, the focus has been on categories of print with extremely low survival rates. Sermons, with their impressive survival rate of 81%, are interesting precisely because so few are lost. Lost titles range from the simple

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53   Pasquil, *Pasquils jestes mixed with Mother Bunches merriments. Whereunto is added a bakers dozen of guiles. Very prettie and pleasant, to drive away the tediousnesse of a winters evening* (London: John Windet, for John Browne, 1609), sig. D2*v*, EEBO. (USTC 3003726).

54   Ar. IV. 331, 308. (USTC 526719, 526659).

55   Ar. I. 402, II. 481, IV. 443. (USTC 523850, 524750, 526893).

56   Jason McElligott, 'Crouch, Humphrey (*fl.* 1601–1657)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6813> [8 May 2017].

57   ESTC S116685. (USTC 3019054).

58   Phebe Jensen, '"Honest Mirth & Merriment": Christmas and Catholicism in Early Modern England', in Lowell Gallagher (ed.), *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), p. 213, p. 223.

A sermon entered in 1569/70 to the far more informative *Certaine Sermons upon the Severall texts* (*vizt*.) *Romans. 8* [*chapter*]. *31. Psalm. 73. 26./1. Thessalonians 5. 17./ MATHEW. 26. 26./ MALACHI. 3. 16./ JOHN 14. 15./ AMOS 3. 11./ JONAH 3. 6. 7. 8./ Proverbs: 23. 26./ Phillipians. 4. 8. 9./ Ecclesiastes 7. 1. 2. 3. &c./ Actes. 2. 3. 4. 5./ Exodus. 18. 11./ Proverbes. 19. 21. MATHEW. 7. 13./ Galatians. 6.15. Actes 13. 48./ Revelations. 18. 4./ Psalme 106. 28. 29. 30./ LUKE. 12. 4. 5. 6./ HABAKUK. 3. 17. 18. / Psalm 119. 136./ JOHN 6. 26. 27./ MATHEW. 24. 36./ Ecclesiastes. 5. 1./ Revelation. 14. 13./ JOHN 17. 3./ LUKE 22. 19./ Actes 8. 26. 27 to 32./ MATHEW. 22. 1. 2. to the 14./* from 1639.[59]

Sermons were a central part of Protestant teaching. The popularity of printed sermons however is an ongoing debate. Contemporary clergyman and preacher Thomas Adams complained that, 'the Stationer dares hardly venture such cost on a good Sermon, as for an idle play: it will not sell so well'.[60] This view has been questioned by Peter Blayney who argued that sermons were one of the most marketable forms of print.[61] Indeed 10% of all entries in the Register are sermons. H.S. Bennett also believed that the sermon was the most likely item to be found on a bookseller's stall.[62] The business of printing was profit driven and it seems unlikely that stationers would continually publish and print unsaleable items.

Research on oral culture has focused attention on the relationship between the printed sermon and the original spoken sermon. In the dedication of his printed sermon, clergyman Anthony Anderson wrote, 'as it is unpossible for him that penneth not his Sermons, to set them downe, even so, and with the self same words in all places as he spake them: So to all my possibilitie have I performed as neare as may be my order and speech'.[63] This shows the difficulty

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59   Ar. I. 402, IV. 476. (USTC 523849, 526961).

60   Thomas Adams, *The devills banket described in foure sermons, 1. The banket propounded, begunne, 2. The second service, 3. The breaking up of the feast, 4. The shot or reckoning,* [*and*] *The sinners passing-bell, together with Phisicke from heaven* (London: Thomas Snodham, for Ralph Mabb, 1614), p. 63, EEBO. (USTC 3006314).

61   Peter Blayney, 'The Alleged Popularity of Playbooks', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 56.1 (2005), p. 43.

62   H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1558 to 1603 Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. xiv.

63   Anthony Anderson, *A godlie sermon, preached on Newe Yeeres day last before Sir William Fitzwilliam knight, late lord deputie of Irelande, Sir James Harrington knight, their ladyes and children, with many others, at Burghley in Rutlande. By the minister of God Anthony Anderson. Hereto is added a very profitable forme of prayer, good for all such as passe the seas: by the same author framed, and used in his adventured journey* (London: Thomas Purfoot, for Lucas Harrison, 1576), sig. Aii*v*, EEBO. (USTC 508141).

of replicating an oral sermon in print, but also the perceived importance of consistency between the two. The problems of accurately reproducing a sermon in print were exacerbated by the fact that sermons were not always published with the knowledge of the original author. The popular preacher Henry Smith was forced to publish his own version of the sermon *The Wedding Garment* 'to control those false copies … which were printed without my knowledge, (patched as it seemeth out of some borrowed notes)'.[64] One sermon entry in the Register even mentions the fact that it was 'taken by the pen of Henry Yelverton of Grayes Inne', a lawyer who later became attorney-general.[65]

Occasion was an important factor behind sermons being printed, with over a third of sermon entries referencing a specific place, date and/or event. Thomas Adams, writing on a sermon preached at court a few days after the death of King James commented, 'I know not whether, my Text was a Comment upon the Occasion, or the Occasion on my Text'.[66] Funeral sermons, in particular, were inevitably tied to a specific event. Out of the forty-five sermons that mention the status of the deceased, the majority were unsurprisingly nobles or esquires. This is because they were often well-known individuals with rich family and friends who would pay for the deceased's funeral sermon to be printed.[67] A third of these sermons were for women and have been used to study early modern female piety.[68] Printed funeral sermons for women, however, were less likely to survive. Other events referenced in lost works include sermons preached 'at the Consecration of the Chappell of Lincolnes Inne, on Ascension daie [22 May 1623] last', 'at the Election of my Lord Mayor', and 'upon Occasion of a great storme of wind'.[69]

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64   Henry Smith, *The Wedding Garment* (London: Abel Jeffes, 1591), sig. A1*v*, EEBO. (USTC 511968).

65   Ar. III. 271. (USTC 3002171).

66   Thomas Adams, *Five sermons preached upon sundry especiall occasions Viz. 1 The sinners mourning habit: in Whitehall, March 29. being the first Tuesday after the departure of King James into blessednesse. 2 A visitation sermon: in Christs Church, at the trienniall visitation of the right reverend father in God the lord bishop of London. 3 the holy choice: in the chappell by Guildhall, at the solemne election of the right honourable the lord maior of London. 4 The barren tree: at Pauls-Crosse, Octob. 26. 5 The temple: at Pauls-Crosse. August 5* (London: Augustine Matthews, and John Norton, for John Grismond, 1626), sig. A2, EEBO. (USTC 3012849).

67   Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1558 to 1603*, p. 149.

68   Eric Josef Carlson, 'English Funeral Sermons as Sources: The Example of Female Piety in Pre-1640 Sermons', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 32.4 (2000), p. 593.

69   Ar. IV. 99, 523. (USTC 526241, 527145, 527953).

Ian Green questioned how representative these printed sermons from special occasions and audiences were of the sermons preached weekly at pulpits across the country.[70] Arnold Hunt also pointed out the performance of and reactions to a sermon could not be replicated properly in print.[71] The titles, however, demonstrate the impact events and audience could have on the decision to print sermons. A royal audience made it more likely for a sermon to be published, especially if supported by a powerful patron.[72] There are forty-six sermons entered which were preached at court or to the monarch, nearly all of which survive. Apart from the court, audiences mentioned in lost sermons included lawyers at Gray's Inn in London, 'Cuntry people' in Hungerford, Berkshire and the inhabitants of Plymouth in New England.[73]

Entries in the Stationers' Register do not just provide evidence of an event or audience, but also dates by which speed of entry can be calculated. The famous sermons at St Paul's Cross make up a third of dated sermon entries. St Paul's Cross was an open-air pulpit situated next to St Paul's Cathedral and, at the time, was the biggest event arena in London.[74] Mary Morrisey calculated that it took two to four weeks for the Paul's Cross sermon to be entered for publication.[75] This might be the average time, as entry time often fluctuated from a few days to months. For sermons connected to other specific events, entry time was usually a few months or even more than one year, although this decreased in the 1620s, probably due to the increased popularity of sermons and their smaller size leading to a quicker turnaround. The survival of entries with information on dates and events approaches 90%. This illustrates the importance of printed sermons acting as reminders of the occasion at which they were originally preached.[76]

The overwhelming majority of sermon entries reference an author. One of the most popular and persuasive preachers during this period was Henry 'silver-tongued' Smith, who frequently brought huge crowds to his church

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70   Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 208.

71   Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 6.

72   *Ibid.*, p. 135.

73   Ar. IV. 286, III. 427, IV. 66. (USTC 527354, 525814, 526194).

74   Lori Anne Ferrell, 'Sermons', in Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (eds.), *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 199.

75   Mary Morrissey, 'Sermons, Primers, and Prayerbooks', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture Vol.1 Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 503.

76   Ferrell, 'Sermons', p. 201.

before his early death in 1591.[77] Despite plenty of research on the popular Elizabethan, only eleven sermon entries (1%) refer to him. This is because, even though printed sermons had been around since the beginning of printing in England, their steady rise in popularity only began in the 1580s.[78] At first, Elizabethan reformers were wary of placing their sermons in print, as they believed reading was a less powerful weapon than preaching.[79] By the 1620s, however, preachers saw print as a useful tool against ignorance, recusancy and popery.[80] The continuous rise in the popularity of printed sermons meant that by 1600, the number of sermons entered in the Register had overtaken that of any other religious work.

The death of an author frequently led to an increase in the number of entries. Most of the 400 sermon authors only had a handful of sermons entered in the Register during their lifetimes. These included leading figures of the European Reformation such as Luther and Calvin, but also more home-grown talent: Bishop Joseph Hall, Thomas Adams and Thomas Gataker. Once religious authors died, however, there was a rush to publish collections of their works. This was true for the authors with the most entries; Doctor John Stoughton, Doctor Richard Sibbes and Doctor John Preston. All three were Church of England clergymen working in the early seventeenth century when printed sermons were at their most popular.[81] All twenty-four of the Register entries for Stoughton's sermons were made after his death near the end of 1639.[82] Both Sibbes and Preston had works printed in their lifetime, but once again their deaths saw an influx of entries for collections. Adams did not have anything printed after the 1630s, but both Hall and Gataker continued to be influential long into the 1640s after the Register had lost its authority.[83]

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77   Gary W. Jenkins, 'Smith, Henry (c.1560–1591)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25811> [9 August 2016].

78   Ferrell, 'Sermons', p. 199.

79   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 25.

80   *Ibid.*, p. 12.

81   P.S. Seaver, 'Stoughton, John (*bap.* 1593, *d.* 1639)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66152> [9 August 2016]; Mark E. Dever, 'Sibbes [Sibs], Richard (1577?–1635)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25498> [9 August 2016]; Jonathan D. Moore, 'Preston, John (1587–1628)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22727> [9 August 2016].

82   Ar. IV. 473–481, 484, 486, 491.

83   Richard A. McCabe, 'Hall, Joseph (1574–1656)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11976> [9 August 2016]; J. Sears McGee, 'Adams, Thomas (1583–1652)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/131> [9 August 2016]; Brett Usher, 'Gataker

Study Aids

From the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, there were huge changes in the Church in England. The Reformation placed a greater importance on salvation by faith alone as opposed to good works. This led to a greater demand for people to understand their religion, with writers needing to transform complex religious concepts into comprehensible beliefs.[84] Bishop George Abbot wrote in his work on Job that 'A Paraphrase (and not a commentarie) is the thing that I endeavour, which is a bare rendering of the sense plaine and easy, the better to enable the Reader to be a commentator to himselfe'.[85] Ian Green debated the usefulness of print in teaching basic beliefs. He argued that even though there were official catechisms, catechising in general developed locally over a longer period.[86] A letter from King James to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1622 emphasised the importance of local preachers ensuring religious study by children.[87] Nevertheless, some of the local clergymen may have used print to help teach religious skills and knowledge. Examples entered in the Register in the 1610s include *A Christian Dictionary of wordes taken generally out of the holy scriptures &c* from 1611, *Pointes of instruccon for the ignorant with an examinacon before yeir* [their] *comminge to the Lordes table and a short direccon for spendinge of tyme well* entered in 1612 and *A plaine and easie table wherby any man maie be Directed howe to reade over the whole bible in A yere* also from 1612.[88]

While print was only one aspect of religious teaching, complementing preaching and church attendance, it was also one of the best ways to transmit ideas and deal with 'the greate ignorance, and claudes of darkenes' among parishioners.[89] Study aids were intended to help with faith, scripture and

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[*formerly* Gatacre], Thomas (1574–1654)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10445> [9 August 2016].

84   Patterson, *Domesticating the Reformation*, p. 21.

85   George Abbot, *The whole booke of Job paraphrased or, made easie for any to understand* (London: Edward Griffin, for Henry Overton, 1640), sig. A3, EEBO. (USTC 3021102).

86   Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 5.

87   George Abbot, *The kings majesties letter to the Lords Grace of Canterbury, touching preaching, and preachers* (London: s.n., 1622), sig. A2v, EEBO. (USTC 3010366).

88   Ar. III. 460, 507, 510. (USTC 3005182, 527822, 3005440).

89   Patterson, *Domesticating the Reformation*, p. 41; Robert Cawdry, *A shorte and fruitefull treatise, of the profite and necessitie of catechising: that is, of instructing the youth, and ignorant persons in the principles and groundes of christian religion* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1580), sig. A3, EEBO. (USTC 508955).

religious practices at all levels of society. They ranged from detailed commentaries of chapters of the Bible to simple catechisms introducing readers to the principal ideas of the Church. This could include the number and purpose of sacraments:

> These are but two: in Baptisme first
> the water is our signe:
> And in the Supper of the Lorde,
> we have the bread and wine:
> The water serves to teach that as,
> it washeth cleane our skinne:
> So Christ his death doeth cleanse my soule,
> from guilt and plague of sinne.[90]

These works were to be used at different times for different purposes. One lost book entered in 1561/62 was for *Serten graces to be sayde before Denner and after Denner*, while a surviving 1572 prayer book contained prayers not just for every day but 'for unity in Religion', 'for the Layetie' and 'to be sayde when ye make a voyage by sea'.[91]

While some books provided a basic education, others stimulated more thoughtful deliberation. This was often dependent on the audience. Some items targeted particular groups, as in the lost publications *A godly and s[h]orte forme of prayer for sarvauntes and other laborynge men, &c* (1564) and *A jewell for gentlewomen with some verses upon certayne storyes of the bible* (1614).[92] Others were for specific congregations. The lost book *The order of praier and other exercises to turne away GODs wrathe* from 1580 was 'to be used in the province of York' while another was *A Catachisme for the Du[t]ch church called Ondersoeck des goloofs voor iongh Kinderin* (1615).[93] This last title is interesting as it shows printing being carried out for stranger Churches in London. This

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90   T.R., *The Catechisme in meter for the easier learnying, and better remembrying of those prinples [sic] of our faithe, which wee ought moste familiarly to be acquainted withall/ for the proofe of theose thynges, which I have not quoted, I referre you to the usuall catechisme; onely in the margent I have quoted those thynges which I have added for plainnesse; the verse will agree with moste of the tunes of the Psalmes of David, and it is devided into partes, that eche parte maie be song by it self* (London: Robert Walley, 1583), sig. Aviiv, EEBO. (USTC 509842).

91   Ar. I. 179. Thomas Achelley, *The key of knowledge containing sundry godly prayers and meditations, very necessary to occupy the minded of well disposed persons* (London: William Seres, 1572), p. 35, p. 89, p. 190, EEBO. (USTC 507391).

92   Ar. I. 262, III. 542. (USTC 523386, 527315).

93   Ar. II. 373, III. 562. (USTC 524291, 525977).

particular work was a staple of worship for the Dutch Church in Austin Friars, already published in several editions at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.[94]

Titles also give indications as to where religious works were to be read or heard. The lost titles *Sertyn prayers to be used in scholles* from 1567/68 and *A short direccon and instruction for householders* entered in 1603 show that religious teaching and learning was not just carried out at church.[95] Theories of space demonstrate the important context of surroundings in understanding how religious print was used.[96] This could be within the household, walking around outside or even when locked up in prison.[97] Previously, the increase in cheap religious print was seen to support the suggestion that this period saw a move from public to private reading.[98] However, evidence shows reading was not just private or silent, but also communal and oral.[99] The diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, a late Elizabethan Puritan, speaks of her praying privately, as well as organising public prayers and teaching religious instruction to her household.[100] At church, official print maintained the communal and oral nature of prayers and scripture, rather than diminishing it.[101]

The best example of the oral, communal nature of religious print is the catechism. From the very beginning of Elizabeth's reign, rote learning was promoted as an important way to teach doctrine.[102] Parishioners needed to connect emotionally to the word of God, and this was only seen as possible with a thorough grounding in scripture and the Bible.[103] A surviving catechism entered in 1610 and aimed at 'private families' introduced children to the concepts of faith, the Trinity and the harsh realities of sin:

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94 Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 61.

95 Ar. I. 361, III. 244. (USTC 523726, 525593).

96 Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 34.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 117, p. 241.

98 Patrick Collinson, Arnold Hunt and Alexandra Walsham, 'Religious Publishing in England 1557–1640', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 65.

99 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

100 Sharon Cadman Seelig, 'Margaret Hoby: The Stewardship of Time', in Sharon Cadman Seelig, *Autobiography and Gender in Early Modern Literature: Reading Women's Lives, 1600–1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 28.

101 Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 187.

102 Elizabeth I, 'Announcing Injunctions for Religion', p. 119.

103 Mandelbrote, 'The Bible and Didactic Literature in Early Modern England', p. 33.

Q. Can you keepe all Gods commandements?

A. No: I breake them daylie, in thought, word, and deed.

Q. What are you therefore?

A. A most grievous sinner.

Q. What is the punishment due for sinne?

A. Eternall torments of soule and body, in hell fire.

Q. Have you deserved this punishment?

A. Yes verily, because I have sinned.[104]

Teaching children about discipline and sin from an early age was essential pedagogical procedure.[105] Question and answer formats and the use of dialogues, in particular, were useful for allowing ideas to be learned by rote and to be more easily digested.[106] This has led to catechisms being described as 'steady sellers', and this is backed up by their regular entry in the Register.[107]

Survival of study aids was very dependent on topic. Figure 3.2 demonstrates the differences between the numbers of these works entered and their survival. Commentaries had a 73% survival rate, biblical texts, catechisms and
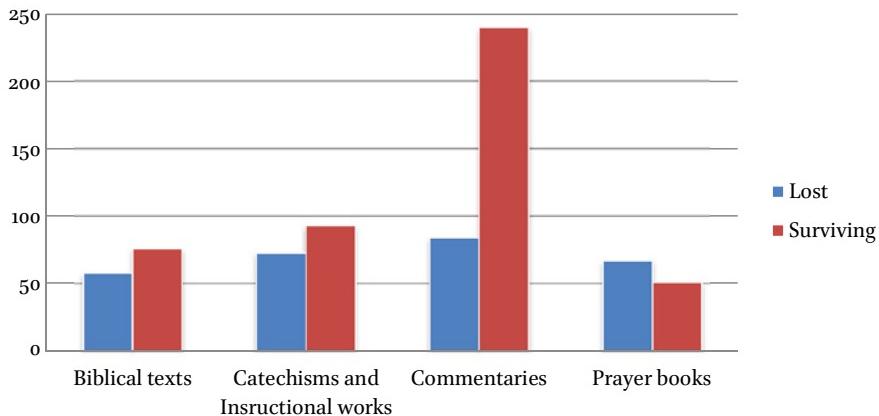
FIGURE 3.2   *Entries of study aids entered in the Register, 1557–1640, and organised by lost and surviving. See corresponding figure in Colour Section.*

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104   Ar. III. 440. Robert Linaker, *A short catechisme, or, A cordiall preservative for little children, against the infection of popery, and atheism to be taught by parents, in private families* (London: for William Leake, 1610), sig. A6–A6*v*, EEBO. (USTC 3004277).

105   Green, *The Christian's ABC*, p. 234.

106   Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 151.

107   Michael J. Braddick, 'England and Wales', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 25.

instructional works 56% and prayer books 43%. Commentaries also had a much higher entry rate than the other categories. The diversity of the entry and survival of these works is best analysed by comparing the items at the opposite ends of the category sample: commentaries and prayer books.

It is clear from the graph that there was a significant difference between the number of commentaries and prayer books entered. The lower rate of entry for prayer books is a consequence of the official Book of Common Prayer being printed under privilege by the King/Queen's printer.[108] In addition, prayers were not always printed as separate publications. The lost collection of Augustine's works entered in the Register in 1601 simply had 'prayers of somme Ancient fathers added'.[109]

Prayer books are the only Christian study aids that have a higher loss than survival rate. However, some prayers were more likely to survive than others. Thanksgiving prayers were printed to be sent to churches across the country. Usually, about 10,000 copies were made with prefaces containing official directions for their use.[110] One of these was entered in the Register, *An order of prayer and thanckesgyvinge for the preservacon of her majestie and the Realme from the Trayterous and bloudye practyses of the pope and his adherents* (1586).[111] It was 'dayly to be used in *Common Prayer*, … or otherwise at such times as are by lawe appointed for *Divine Service: viz,* the Prayer, and one or two of the *Psalmes* following, according to the discretion of the Minister'.[112] According to the ESTC, only eight of a potential 10,000 copies survive.[113] Much of this loss would be a consequence of their daily use; commentaries in contrast were far less intensively used.

Due to the rise in book collecting over the period, religious titles entered in the Stationers' Register in the seventeenth century were more likely to survive than those entered in the sixteenth.[114] While religious titles entered in the first few years of the Register had a lowly 42% survival rate, they had an 84% survival rate in the 1610s. Prayer books which were predominantly entered in the

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108   Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1558 to 1603*, p. 137.

109   Ar. III. 190. (USTC 528002).

110   Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 182.

111   Ar. II. 456. (USTC 510518).

112   Church of England, *An order of prayer and thanksgiving, for the preservation of her Majestie and the realme, from the traitorous and bloodie practises of the Pope, and his adherents to be used at times appointed in the preface* (London: Christopher Barker, 1586), sig. Aii*v*–Aiii, EEBO. (USTC 510518).

113   ESTC S123414. (USTC 510518).

114   Joad Raymond, 'Introduction: The Origins of Popular Print Culture', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 7.

first years of the Register had a particularly poor rate of survival. They were generally small and prone to constant use, reducing the likelihood of their survival compared to larger commentaries.

The decline of prayer books was due to the shift towards extemporising rather than reading out prayers from books.[115] In the sixteenth century, poet Thomas Achelley wrote, 'I graunt that ther are many praier books published, but yet I am of this opinion that if there were ten tymes as many, yet there were not to many'.[116] However, in the seventeenth century it was increasingly believed that, 'the most substantiall prayers can not bee born in a pocket, or gotten from men'.[117] In comparison to the decline of prayer books, the number of commentaries entered in the Register increased over the decades. One of the reasons for this was the rise of Laudianism which stimulated banned Puritan preachers to disseminate their ideas more through print.[118]

I Couldn't Agree with You Less: Theology, Doctrine and Controversy

Historians have used surviving theological, doctrinal and controversial works to identify how Protestantism in England developed across the decades.[119] A wide variety of religious opinions were discussed in the print of the day, blurring ideas of late mediaeval Catholicism with contemporary Protestant reform.[120] This mix of views was also apparent amongst the highest preachers and reformers within the Church of England. Elizabethan clergyman Richard Greenham always used the Book of Common Prayer but refused to wear a surplice, despite both items being promoted in Elizabeth's 1559 Religious Injunctions.[121] Entries contained books of theological and doctrinal explanation and debate on theological precepts such as predestination and the meaning of the

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115   Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 274.

116   Achelley, 'The key of knowledge containing sundry godly prayers and meditations, very necessary to occupy the minded of well disposed persons', sig. Cii*v*–Ciii.

117   Anon, *Answeres to certaine novations desired by some to be embraced by the reformed church some defend one part, others another part of these novations: in this treatise their chief objections are turned into questions* (Holland: s.n., 1638), sig. A3, EEBO. (USTC 3019900).

118   Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 56.

119   *Ibid.*, p. 5.

120   *Ibid.*, p. 329.

121   Norman Jones, 'Negotiating the Reformation', in Eric Josef Carlson (ed.), *Religion and the English People 1500–1640: New Voices, New Perspectives* (Kirksville, Missouri: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1998), p. 278.

Sabbath, with lashings of anti-papal and anti-Catholic writings from authors across Europe. Books entered in the Register ranged from the views of Continental European reformers such as Luther and Calvin to contemporary works by native theologians and clergymen. Focus by historians has often been on the links between religion, print and politics, particularly as the more controversial works were more likely to survive and often had a more visible impact.[122]

Most official print was held under privilege although some entries do give insights to the administrative workings of the Church in England. Printed injunctions and articles were used for church visitations in the sixteenth century in order to ensure good practice and uniformity across the different diocese. Three lost items from the late 1560s include *Injunctions by ye Ryghte* [*reverend*] *father in god* [*HUGH BRADY*] *bysshoppe of Meath in Irelonde* (1568/69), *The Injunctions and articles gyven by the Ryght Reverent ffather in god RYCHARDE CURTEYS bysshoppe of Cechester* (1569/70) and *The I*[*n*]*junctions of ye Ryght Reverent ffather in god EDWARDE* [*SCAMLER*] *bysshope of Peter broughte* (1569/70), all entered by different stationers.[123] One surviving visitation article for Middlesex in 1582 investigated whether the church had all the necessary books for worship, asked for the names of parishioners under suspicion of heresy and checked the minister did not keep a 'suspected woman' or was 'a haunter of Tavernes'.[124]

Low survival rates suggest that these works were destroyed soon after the visitations or when they went out of date. Entrance of articles, however, was haphazard, so even though only one of the entered works survived there are surviving examples from other visitations not entered. By the seventeenth century, multiple visitations were printed by a single printer. *The uniforme Articles for all visitacions in the severall Diocesses in this kingdome* entered in 1640 represented a series of works, with surviving publications for diocese in London, Norfolk and Bangor.[125]

Religious censorship varied over the decades and under the different monarchs. Elizabeth's government only reacted to print when it was particularly problematic.[126] In the years after the 1569 rebellion there were four

122 Collinson, Hunt and Walsham, 'Religious Publishing in England 1557–1640', p. 37.

123 Ar. I. 388, 415. (USTC 523815, 523925, 523928).

124 Church of England, *Articles to be enquired of, by the Church Wardens and Swornemen within the Archdeaconrie of Middlesex And the trueth thereof to be by them upon their oaths certainely presented to M. Doctor Squier Archdeacon there or to his officialles, with particular aunsweare to everie article* ([London]: John Wolfe, 1582), sig. A2v, B, EEBO. (USTC 509505).

125 ESTC S101627, S92373, S92271. (USTC 3021393, 3021392, 3021425).

126 Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 31.

proclamations concerning the discovery and destruction of seditious books.[127] Under James in the early seventeenth century there were multiple authorities using censorship for their own ends, whereas during the 1630s Charles actively sought to change the censorship system, with previously licensed Calvinist works becoming illegal.[128] The break from Rome meant works were not subject to the Catholic *Index Librorum*, although there is still some evidence of its influence in the Register. The entry in 1614 of *The Coppie of a decree where in 2 bookes of ROGER WIDDRINGTON are Condemned &c* shows how works condemned by the Pope were published.[129] Widdrington, also known as Thomas Preston, was a monk who argued against the Pope's power to depose princes.[130] Being banned by the Pope may have made his works more popular.

Most evidence of seditious or schismatic works comes from fines, burnings and bannings. Evidence of heretical Catholic works can also be found in the entrance of books writing against them. A surviving work from 1624 has 'a Catalogue of popish bookes' added, including such entries as: '*The Honour of God*, by *Anthony Clerke*. An idle frothy booke, by a brayn-sicke man, a concealed Priest'.[131] The nature of refutation also meant that works often contained a full copy of the seditious work to which they were responding.[132] The surviving publication *An answere to a Rebellious Libell* from 1579 contains a copy of the 'reproachful, blasphemous, and lying lybell' that had been placed on posts around London.[133] This means that when these works are lost we potentially

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127   Elizabeth I, 'Prohibiting Seditious Books in Matters of Religion' (1569) pp. 312–313, 'Ordering Arrest for Circulating Seditious Books and Bulls' (1570) pp. 341–343, 'Ordering Discovery of Persons Bringing in Seditious Books and Writings' (1570) pp. 347–348, 'Ordering Destruction of Seditious Books' (1573), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume II*, pp. 376–379.

128   Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 224; Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England*, p. 120.

129   Ar. III. 551. (USTC 527659).

130   Anselm Cramer, 'Preston, Roland [*name in religion* Thomas; *pseud.* Roger Widdrington] (1567–1647)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29356> [9 August 2016].

131   Ar. IV. 116. John Gee, *The foot out of the snare with a detection of sundry late practices and impostures of the priests and Jesuits in England, whereunto is added a catalogue of such books as in this authors knowledge have been vented within two years last past in London by the priests and their agents* (London: Humphrey Lownes, for Robert Milbourne, 1624), sig. O3v, EEBO. (USTC 3011651).

132   Alexandra Walsham, 'The Spider and the Bee: the Perils of Printing for Refutation in Tudor England', in John N. King (ed.), *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 165.

133   Anon, *A reply with the occasion thereof, to a late rayling, lying, reproachful and blasphemous libel, of the papists set upon postes, and also in Paules church in London: against god, his truth, his anointed, the whole state, and universall church of Christ, with a cattolog, of the vile termes therein contained. Also, a briefe reprehension, of a most vile facte, (more lately)*

lose evidence of two works. Good examples of this are two entries which provided a fairly full title for the works they were refuting: *An answere to a seditions pamphlet latelie Caste abroad by a Jesuit with a discovery of that blasphemous secte* from 1580 and *An answere to a popishe treatise, intituled 'An epistle to the right honorable lords of her majesties privie counsell towchinge the persecution of Catholickes in England'* entered in 1582.[134]

An anonymous writer in 1640 believed that theology was 'the safest starre to direct our course in the ways of the intellectual world'.[135] However, emphasis on the Word and individual meditation led to biblical texts and religious concepts being approached and understood in a variety of ways.[136] This in turn led to numerous debates and controversies over the direction the Reformation was taking. One of the major religious print controversies late in Elizabeth's reign was the Marprelate controversy. Written under the pseudonym Martin Marprelate, the works criticised church hierarchy and vestments, claiming Lord Bishops were 'pettie Popes and pettie Antichrists'.[137] Even though the seven extant Marprelate tracts are not listed in the Register, there are five works entered in 1589–90 against Marprelate's writings.[138] A number of these works were commissioned by the government, which employed well-known writers to tackle the controversial works.[139] Controversial works were more likely to be collected and survive. Between ten and twenty copies of each Marprelate tract survive despite the order for their destruction in 1589.[140] This has inflated focus

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which though more private, yet little lesse contemptuous, and don also, in S. Paules church London (London: Hugh Singleton, 1579), sig. A3, EEBO. (USTC 508708).

134 Ar. II. 385, 417. (USTC 524363, 524483).

135 Anon, *Satyrae seriae, or, The Secrets of things written in morall and politicke observations* (London: John Okes, for Abel Roper, 1640), p. 85, EEBO. (USTC 3021240).

136 Ingram, 'From Reformation to Toleration', p. 96.

137 Martin Marprelate, pseud., *Oh read over D. John Bridges, for it is a worthy worke: or an epitome of the fyrste booke, of that right worshipfull volume, written against the puritans, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, John Bridges, presbyter, priest or elder, doctor of divillitie, and Deane of Sarum Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to answere M. Doctor, they must needs say something that hath bene spoken* (East Molesey: Robert Waldegrave, 1588), p. 4, EEBO. (USTC 511029).

138 Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 29. Ar. II. 513, 525, 532, 537, 538. (USTC 511194, 511110, 511549, 511629, 511690).

139 Anna Bayman, 'Printing, Learning and the Unlearned', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 82.

140 ESTC S112310, S112311, S123250, S112300, S112313, S112314, S112312. (USTC 511029, 511030, 517658, 511301, 511303, 511304, 511302). Elizabeth I, 'Ordering Destruction of Marprelate Publications' (1589), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume III The Later Tudors (1588–1603)*, eds. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (London: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 34–35.

on controversial works in historical research, often overlooking the higher percentage of non-controversial works entered.

Printing in the vernacular rather than Latin and using cheaper formats such as pamphlets made religious debate quicker to print and accessible to a wider audience.[141] These debates focused on church practices rather than theology, especially after the accession of James who tacitly encouraged doctrinal debate on the church. This is reflected in the Register entries, with the number of books dealing with core theological issues declining after the 1580s and works debating matters of church practice peaking in the 1600s. Religious writers could be individual theologians and clergymen, or be part of larger groups. This included the Family of Love whose works were imported into England in the 1570s, as well as home-grown antagonists such as the Brownists who, in the early seventeenth century, pushed for a separate congregation.[142] The 1630s, in particular, was a time of vehement debate between the defenders of Archbishop Laud and the established Church and their Puritan opponents.[143] Godly criticism of the Laudian Church policy of easing restrictions on the Sabbath led to a surge in defensive replies by Peter Helyn, Christopher Dow and other government writers.[144]

While the church and its opponents saw print as an opportunity for disseminating their opinions and ideas, for stationers, the constant back and forth of debate provided the opportunity for more sales. Over 100 titles were styled as 'answers', 'defences' or works written 'against' other books or authors. Unlike sermons which saw a steady rise in entries over the decades, works of theology, doctrine and controversy were much more prone to fluctuations in production dictated by changes in religious and political policies or other controversies. These controversial works have a high survival rate, and only a handful cannot be traced to an existing copy. These rare lost publications include *An answere to master DORMERS Disprof to master NOWELLES his Reproffe* (1566/67), *An aunswere to certen of Master BARROWes ascertions and his adherents* (1591) and *Animaversions upon master SELDON'S history of Tithes, with an Answere to master SEL[D]ENS unprinted pamphlett Divelged against the former* (1621).[145]

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141   Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 93.

142   Christopher W. Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 81; Michael E. Moody, 'Browne, Robert (1550?–1633)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3695> [9 August 2016].

143   Anthony Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic in Seventeenth-century England: The Career and Writings of Peter Helyn* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 53.

144   Ar. IV. 347, 350. (USTC 3018481, 3018809). S. Mutchow Towers, *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 218–219.

145   Ar. I. 341, II. 575, IV. 48. (USTC 523659, 524998, 527812).

Controversy could be both positive and problematic for stationers. Book-seller Robert Milbourne had experience of both types of fortune. In a letter to the reader in his 1629 edition of Daniel Featley's *Cygnea cantio*, Milbourne explained:

> I hoped in some measure to repair that exceeding great loss which I sustained by *Fire*, in the burning of M. *Elton* his booke on the ten Com-mandements, and Lords Prayer, the greatest losse (in that kinde) that ever any stationer received: for I had taken from me almost nine hundred books, bound and in quires. which (with my imprisonment, and other charges) cost me above threescore and ten pounds.[146]

Interestingly, this book was condemned even though Milbourne had gained a licence, and copies still survive in a number of libraries.[147] However, in the same letter, Milbourne mentioned another one of his religious works where earlier suppression and later acceptance meant that the books 'were much more inquired after and sold the better, being called for even from the remot-est parts of Scotland'.[148] Either way, controversial works were economically riskier than the steadier selling catechisms and sermons.[149]

Anti-papal and anti-Catholic works have one of the highest survival rates, at 77%. Once again, this is because controversial works were more likely to be col-lected. Their titles are usually strongly worded, such as the lost examples, *An admonicon Concir[n]inge Catholickes or rather more rightlie termed rebellious and Trayterous papistes intituled a glister to their Consciences that truste to Con-jurde Images* from 1578 and *The picture of a protestant Discoursinge the detest-able heresies of ye popes and of Romishe religion with an Answere to the popishe petition* entered in 1606.[150] The entry of these works is particularly interesting. Throughout the period there was a steady rise in the number of entries, in line with the general rise of religious entries. However, there was a huge decline in the 1630s: most likely a consequence of the growing assertiveness of Charles I and the appointment of Archbishop Laud. Charles was sympathetic towards Catholics and Laud was accused of using licensors to remove anti-Catholic

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146 Daniel Featley, *Cygnea cantio: or, Learned decisions, and most prudent and pious directions for students in divinitie; delivered by our late soveraigne of happie memorie, king James, at White Hall a few weekes before his death* (London: Miles Flesher, for Robert Milbourne, 1629), p. 39, EEBO. (USTC 3014396).

147 Ar. IV. 124. ESTC S100393. (USTC 3011910).

148 Featley, *Cygnea cantio*, p. 40.

149 Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 19.

150 Ar. II. 340, III. 326. (USTC 524123, 525706).

attitude before allowing books to be published.[151] Stationers would be less willing to print anti-Catholic works in this environment.

Religion and the Book Trade

The monopoly of the Stationers' Company meant more native writers were able to get into print than was the case outside of England.[152] Religious books though were not just written by English writers for an English vernacular audience. Ten per cent of entries were either translations or printed in a language other than English. Unsurprisingly, the majority of these were translated from or printed in Latin. This is because Latin was still considered the international language of learning. Some books were available in other European vernaculars. Ten of these were church literature specifically translated for the Welsh market, most of which cannot be traced to an existing copy. It is likely they were printed in small numbers. Lost examples include *The x commandementes in welshe* entered in 1567/68 and *The prymer in Welshe* from 1599.[153] Other languages included French, Dutch and German. These examples show the dominance of vernacular in the religious print market, the influence of wider European reform on religious thought in England and the presence of religious refugees from the continent in London.

Religious books were bought by a variety of individuals and institutions for a range of purposes. Bibles were used as valuable totems to keep away demons, bequeathed as records of family history, as well as items upon which oaths were sworn.[154] Reading and owning religious books also had symbolic importance for godly Protestants for whom reading was a part of their religious identity.[155]

Contemporary clergymen such as Thomas Adams questioned how concerned stationers in England were with publishing and promoting religious print:

> Among all, those in print doe most mischief …. *Ovids amatories* have bright and trite covers, when the booke of *God* lyes in a dustie corner.

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151 Towers, *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England*, p. 256.

152 John Barnard, 'Introduction', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 1.

153 Ar. I. 361, III. 149. (USTC 523720, 525426). Philip Henry Jones, 'Wales and the Stationers' Company', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550–1990* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), p. 187.

154 David Cressy, 'Books as Totems in Seventeenth-Century England and New England', *The Journal of Library History*, 21.1 (1986), p. 94.

155 Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 22.

> The Devill playes with us, as *Hippomenes* with *Atalanta*, seeing us earnest
> in our race to *Heaven*, throwes us here and there a *golden Ball*, an idle
> Pamphlet.[156]

Despite such anxieties, almost 400 stationers entered a religious item in the
Register. Printing was a risky business and the sheer number of religious items
entered shows it was a profitable market. Bookseller Andrew Maunsells' cat-
alogue of almost 2,000 printed works of Divinity was compiled mainly from
items in his own stock.[157]

Although no one stationer dominated the religious print market, the top ten
most prolific stationers account for 20% of the entries. Some interesting points,
however, appear when looking at the most prolific stationers. Four of the top
religious stationers were members who also dominated the news print indus-
try: John Wolfe, Nathaniel Butter, Nicholas Bourne and Nathaniel Newbery.
These publishers clearly had a decent level of capital to invest in both news
serials and large religious books. Similarly, the other top stationers of religious
publications held profitable privileges and patents. George Bishop worked
with the Queen's printer and had a monopoly on printing Bibles, while book-
seller Robert Milbourne was a stock keeper for the English Stock.[158] Thomas
Man senior did not have any obvious basis for capital investment, but was
known for publishing works by Puritan authors and had loaned money to both
monarchs, Elizabeth and James, through the Stationers' Company.[159] Register
entries show Milbourne and Man were the only top religious stationers to deal
overwhelmingly with religious print. The rest published a number of genres.

Research by Peter McCullough has revealed some interesting connec-
tions between those working in the print trade and members of the Church.
Archbishop Whitgift relied on John Wolfe to publish works against the
Marprelate tracts printed by Robert Waldegrave, while Nathaniel Butter was

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156   Adams, *The devills banket described in foure sermons*, p. 62.

157   Franklin B. Williams Jr., 'Lost Books of Tudor England', *The Library*, 5.1 (1978), p. 3.

158   Anders Ingram, 'Bishop, George (*b*. in or before 1538, *d*. 1610/11), ODNB, <http://www
      .oxforddnb.com/view/article/104774> [9 August 2016]; *Records of the Court of the Statio-
      ners' Company 1602 to 1640*, ed. William Jackson (London: The Bibliographical Society,
      1957), p. 214.

159   Ian Green, '"Puritan Prayer Books" and "Geneva Bibles": An Episode in Elizabethan Pub-
      lishing', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11.3. (1998), p. 347; *Records
      of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1576 to 1602 from Register B*, eds. W.W. Greg and
      E. Boswell (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1930), p. 72; *Records of the Court of the
      Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640,* pp. 340–341.

Bishop Joseph Hall's exclusive publisher, providing financial support for Hall's diocese in Exeter.[160] Being linked with certain churchmen or ideas could be problematic or useful depending on whose view was in favour. As the Register was a form of pre-publication censorship, entries needed to be authorised before they were licensed, although, even when there were strict orders, the authorising system could be patchy. The entry of *A commission sent to the pope and co[n]ventes of freres by SATHAN &c* from 1586 was deleted from the Register as it was 'forbydden by the Archbishop of Canterbury'.[161] It slipped through the first round of censorship because it was an anti-episcopal work disguised as an anti-papal one.[162] The only surviving copy at Lambeth Palace Library was kept by the Archbishop who censored it.[163]

Leading churchmen, however, used the licensing system for their own purposes. During the 1620s, licensing was carried out by the Archbishop of Canterbury George Abbot, a Calvinist, and the Bishop of London George Montaigne, an Arminian sympathiser.[164] Religious rivals therefore used licensing to try and silence opponents.[165] This was good for supporters of Montaigne and his successor Laud who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Richard Badger was given a large number of prestigious print jobs and quickly made a master printer because of his links to Laud and his chaplain Richard Baylie.[166] It was not so good for the Calvinists and supporters of Abbot who lost power after he was sent away from court by Charles in 1627.[167]

Conclusion

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were periods of religious upheaval across Europe. While news pamphlets kept readers informed of the religious wars in France and the Netherlands, official proclamations and

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160   Peter McCullough, 'Print, Publication, and Religious Politics in Caroline England', *The Historical Journal*, 51.2 (2008), p. 295, p. 303.

161   Ar. II. 457.

162   J. Dover Wilson, 'The Marprelate Controversy', in A.W. Ward and A.R. Waller (eds.), *The Cambridge History of English Volume III: English Renascence and Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), p. 376.

163   ESTC S95046. (USTC 515822). Wilson, 'The Marprelate Controversy', p. 376.

164   Towers, *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England*, p. 164.

165   Anthony Milton, 'Licensing, Censorship, and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England', *The Historical Journal*, 41.3 (1998), p. 633.

166   McCullough, 'Print, Publication, and Religious Politics in Caroline England', p. 296.

167   Kenneth Fincham, 'Abbot, George (1562–1633)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4> [9 August 2016].

censorship aimed at controlling home-grown religious dissent and seditious print. In this environment, the fortunes of religious genres, authors and stationers often depended on changing circumstances and the whims of the monarch and licensors. The Stationers' Company entries demonstrate the rising success of printed sermons against the decline of unofficial prayer books and anti-Catholic rhetoric in the 1620s and 1630s. Changing ideas also resulted in religious print entries containing an intriguing blend of late mediaeval piety, moderate Calvinism, Anglicanism and godly Puritanism.

Stationers' Company entries highlight the importance of audience, occasion and space in all forms of religious print, from instructions for individual households, to sermons preached in front of thousands at St Pauls. They show the continuing importance of both public and private worship and the mix of oral and literate religious teaching in early modern England. For reformers, religious print not only opened debate but provided basic scriptural knowledge for a wide range of readers and listeners. This was not just in studious commentaries, but in entertaining stories and verse, written by anonymous pamphleteers as well as reformers whose opinions had an impact across Europe.

Religious texts have some of the highest survival rates in the Register. Whereas with ballads and news we rely for surviving copies on a small number of large collections, this is not the case with religious texts, with surviving items today found extant in libraries across the United Kingdom and North America. Nevertheless, issues of genre, format and function still played their role in determining survival. While there is little difference in survival rates of the larger categories, apart from sermons, survival rates of other sub-genres varied much more widely. We have noted in this context the contrast between commentaries and unofficial prayer books, and the complete loss of Christmas carols entered. Authorship also played a part in collecting, with titles authored by well-known figures more likely to survive in sermon collections.

The total number of entries for religious print confirms that religious items were steady sellers. Despite a rise in other genres over the period, religion remained the most prevalent topic of entries in the Register, reaching a peak in the 1620s. This does not even include the large quantities of official religious print that were used by individuals and institutions, with the peak in official Bible production occurring a decade later in the 1630s.[168] While some stationers had clear connections to particular churchmen, religious printing was still a profit-based rather than a faith-led business. The stationers who played the most prolific role in religious publishing also published in a variety of other genres, particularly news.

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168   Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 53.

The Lost Arts of Learning and Leisure

In the opening scene of the comedy *Wit in a Constable* (1640), young student Holdfast is arguing with his servant over the sheer number of books he owns. As a gentleman, Holdfast takes great pleasure in purchasing and collecting works, although he makes no attempt to actually read them. This annoys his servant Tristram who questions the practicality of having so many unread books:

> **Trist[ram].** Although you tell me learning is immortall,
> The paper and the parchment, tis contayn'd in,
> Savors of much mortality.
> **Hold[fast].** I hope my books are all in health.
> **Trist[ram].** In the same case the Mothes have left them, who have eaten more
> Authenticke learning then would richly furnish
> A hundred country pedants; yet the wormes
> Are not one letter wiser.[1]

Even though this is a fictional scene, it illustrates well the ambiguous place of print in the dissemination of knowledge and entertainment in early modern England. Holdfast's collection alone included books of poetry, history and medicine as well as almanacs and ballads.[2]

In the early days of print in England, books were expensive. This was a consequence of the dominance of capital-intensive folios and quartos and exacerbated by the debasement of coinage in the 1540s.[3] In the period 1557–1640, however, even though the price of books remained constant until 1635, increases in wages and the move towards cheaper formats meant that books became more accessible. This opened up the market to new genres and new

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1 Henry Glapthorne, *Wit in a constable A comedy written 1639. The author Henry Glapthorne. And now printed as it was lately acted at the Cock-pit in Drury lane, by their Majesties Servants, with good allowance* (London: Jo. Okes, for F[rancis] C[onstable], 1640), sig. B, EEBO. (USTC 3021007).

2 *Ibid.*, sig. B-B*v*.

3 Joad Raymond, 'Introduction: The Origins of Popular Print Culture', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture Vol.1 Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 4; Francis R. Johnson, 'Notes of English Retail Book-prices, 1550–1640', *The Library*, 5.2 (1950), p. 89.

audiences. While long-established fields of knowledge spread into new how-to manuals, traditional tales familiar in the mediaeval world formed the basis of the rising small booklet (later chapbook) trade. There was also an increase in the use of print for purposes other than reading.

The new genres allowed new interactions and relationships to develop between oral and literate culture. Adam Fox has shown how the spoken word and print interacted to enrich popular belief and culture.[4] Similar developments occurred within the new genres. Plays were accessible as both performance and print. *Wit in a Constable* was played on the stage the year before it was published, and then later restaged during the Restoration.[5] Meanwhile books of metalwork and practical medicine spread knowledge previously circulated only among privileged circles of craftsmen and specialists. The rise of these new genres and formats also changed the way in which knowledge was acquired. Entries in the Stationers' Register reflect not only what people were willing to spend their money on, but also how access to learning changed over the decades.

The spread of print encouraged a rise in literacy which in turn boosted demand.[6] It has been argued that leisure in the early modern period was mainly a privilege of the elite, if leisure is even the correct term to use.[7] Reading however was not just for gentlemen and scholars. Evidence shows women increasingly purchasing English literature.[8] Although idleness was a fear for a number of early modern writers, reading, particularly of improving works, was encouraged.[9] Title pages even proclaimed how books were 'made and invented for

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4   Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 212.

5   Julie Sanders, 'Glapthorne, Henry (*bap.* 1610)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10796> [2 August 2016].

6   John N. King, 'Introduction', in John N. King (ed.), *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 2.

7   For the debate see Peter Burke, 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present*, 146 (1995), pp. 136–150; Joan-Lluís Marfany, 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present*, 156 (1997), pp. 174–191; Peter Burke, 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', *Ibid.*, pp. 192–197.

8   John Pitcher, 'Literature, the Playhouse and the Public', in Maureen Bell, John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 4: 1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 369.

9   Miriam Nandi, 'The Dangers and Pleasures of Filling Vacuous Time: Idleness in Early Modern Diaries', in Monika Fludernik and Miriam Nandi (eds.), *Idleness, Indolence and Leisure in English Literature* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 55.

honest recreation, to passe away idle houres'.[10] Entries in the Register reflect how a range of consumers increasingly bought and used print for study and recreation.[11]

In my rough categorisations for the purpose of this chapter, books used for learning include medicine, travel, history, almanacs and how-to manuals while books primarily for leisure purposes refer to music, plays, novels and games. Some books even did a bit of both. *A booke of Merry Conceites* and *A booke of New Conceits* by Thomas Johnson, both entered 7 December 1629, included recipes for making gingerbread and methods for encouraging worms out of the earth as well as riddles and card tricks.[12] After religious works, books of learning and leisure were the most common items entered in the Register with each category accounting for between 2,000 and 2,500 entries. Both have an average survival rate of 60%, leaving over 1,700 entries that cannot be traced to an existing copy. However, as shown in figure 4.1, survival rates varied considerably between the different topics. How-to manuals and jobbing print have very different survival rates despite a similar number of entries.

Particular genres have received considerable attention from historians and students of English literature, often to the detriment of others. Continuing debates over the popularity of playbooks has taken interest away from other works of prose fiction and poetry.[13] Meanwhile, the considerable amounts of published research on books of etiquette and courtesy can be contrasted with the much lower level of interest in other forms of didactic literature.[14] This is mainly due to survival. Plays and books on etiquette have over a 70% survival

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10   Thomas Johnson, *Dainty conceits with a number of rare and witty inventions, never before printed. Made and Invented for honest recreation, to passe away idle hours* (London: Elizabeth Allde, for Henry Gosson, and Francis Coules, 1630), sig. A, EEBO. (USTC 3015097).

11   Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981), p. 15.

12   Ar. IV. 223. Johnson, *Dainty conceits with a number of rare and witty inventions, never before printed* and Thomas Johnson, *A new booke of new conceits with a number of novelties annexed thereunto. Whereof some be profitable, some necessary, some strange, none hurtful, and all delectable* (London: Elizabeth Allde, for Edward Wright, and Cuthbert Wright, 1630), EEBO. (USTC 3014614, 3015097).

13   For the debate see Peter Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', in David Scott Kastan and John D. Cox (eds.), *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 383–422; Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, 'The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 56.1 (2005), pp. 1–32; Peter Blayney, 'The Alleged Popularity of Playbooks', in *Ibid.*, pp. 33–50.

14   Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell, 'Introduction', *Didactic Literature in England 1500–1800: Expertise Constructed* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 3.
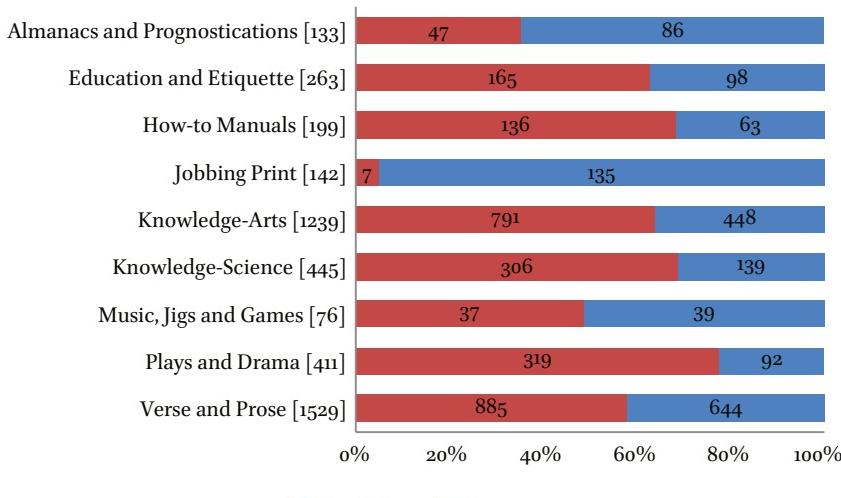
FIGURE 4.1 *Percentage of lost and surviving learning and leisure works entered into the Stationers' Company Register, 1557–1640. See corresponding figure in Colour Section.*

rate, compared with less than a third of almanacs, single-sheet bills and epitaphs. These items were more likely to be heavily used or replaced when the information became obsolete. Fortunately, the Register contains references to jobbing print and other ephemeral works not usually found in contemporary catalogues or inventories.

Even with works which have a good survival rate, studies have focused on the better known authors and texts. Writers were far less likely to be credited with authorship of their works in the early modern period; a clear majority of entries in the Stationers' Company Register do not reference an author. William Shakespeare's name does not appear in the Register until 1600, despite his plays being published from 1594.[15] Only in the 1630s do play entries regularly contain the name of the author. Independent analysis of surviving plays corroborates this, with a 20% rate of author attribution in the 1580s rising to 89% in the 1630s.[16] Scholars have also raised the importance of collaboration when producing a play text, complicating still further the concept of authorial

15   Ar. iii. 170. (USTC 514943). Peter Holland, 'Shakespeare, William (1564–1616)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25200> [2 August 2016].

16   James P. Saeger and Christopher J. Fassler, 'The London Professional Theater, 1576–1642: A Catalogue and Analysis of the Extant Printed Plays', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 34 (1995), p. 106.

authority.[17] Nevertheless, the move from manuscript to print did contribute to a greater focus on the attribution of authorship as publishers recognised that a popular name on a title page could be useful for both writer and the seller.[18] In the fields studied here, Gervase Markham became well known for his husbandry manuals, while medical practitioners could use print to advertise certain goods and services.

The Vowels are Not What They Seem: Education, Literacy and Learning

Increases in literacy and schooling during the early modern period boosted both the supply and demand for printed books.[19] Already by the 1590s contemporary playwright Robert Wilson believed 'we live in a printing age'.[20] Books taught children and adults standards of etiquette, how to read and write in a range of languages and offered enlightenment on a variety of other arts and sciences. This demand for educational works, particularly textbooks, made them an attractive business for stationers, with many held under patents.[21] In the sixteenth century, John Day had a monopoly over certain ABC books while Thomas Marshe and Thomas Vautrollier both had privileges for Latin school books. In 1603, these educational works were brought together in the English Stock partnership. Law books also formed part of the English Stock after being held as a privilege by a number of stationers during the previous century. Common Law books constantly needed to be revised and replaced, making a monopoly both a blessing and a curse for the stationer. Christopher Barker's report into patents in 1582 suggested the Common Law monopoly, 'hath been

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17   Douglas A. Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 2.

18   Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (2nd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 88; Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther: 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation* (New York: Penguin Press, 2015), p. 162.

19   Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 9.

20   Robert Wilson, *Martine Mar-Sixtus A second replie against the defensory and apology of Sixtus the fift late Pope of Rome, defending the execrable fact of the Jacobine frier, upon the person of Henry the third, late King of France, to be both commendable, admirable, and meritorious* (London: Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Woodcock, 1591), sig. A3*v*, EEBO. (USTC 511957).

21   R.C. Simmons, 'ABCs, Almanacs, Ballads, Chapbooks, Popular Piety and Textbooks', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 505.

very beneficiall … but nowe it is of much lesse value then before, and is like yet to be rather worse than better'.[22]

As written documentation and print grew in importance, literacy became an increasingly useful skill. Entries ranged from the basic skills of reading and writing English, to understanding Latin grammar. Lost examples include *A moste shorte, and profytable introductyon to learne to read wrytten, and prynted hand with in a monethes space* from 1590, *A ready way for yo[u]ng begynners to learne to wryte upon: that never wrytt before* entered in 1602 and *A profitable passage to the understandinge and speedie instruction of Children in the Latin tong[u]e &c* from 1607.[23] These writing and literacy manuals were not just aimed at specific age groups or genders, but also trades. One lost item appears to contain a printed letter template to help craftsmen write on 'mettall Stone Tymber Sylk Clothe Tapestrye &c'.[24] Unsurprisingly, these educational works have not survived as they were used regularly, or thrown away when the skills had been learnt. Heavy use is also the reason behind the lower than average survival rate for dictionaries.

Oral and face-to-face communication still played a major role in everyday life. Foreign languages played a part in this, especially after the increase in European travel in the early seventeenth century.[25] The most common languages interesting English customers, judging from the Stationers' records, were French, Spanish and Italian, although one surviving work contained more exotic dialogues in Malaysian.[26] A number were used as travel guides to help merchants and travellers communicate with traders and locals. One Malaysian dialogue illustrated how to barter for provisions:

> German: How do you value this oxe?
> *Barrappa tun hargalemboe itoe?*
> Indian: What will you pay for him, silver? or will you change him for other merchandizes.
> *Appa tun maan bry ken itoe, perack, attouman tocker ken harta?*

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22 Christopher Barker, 'Christopher Barker's Report in December 1582, on the Printing Patents of 1558–1582' (1582), in Ar. i. 116.

23 Ar. ii. 559, iii. 202, 336. (USTC 524957, 525512, 525712).

24 Ar. ii. 465. (USTC 524700).

25 Michael G. Brennan, 'The Literature of Travel', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 257.

26 Ar. iii. 543. (USTC 3006312).

German: I will pay you silver for the ox: but for the fruits I will change other merchandizes.

Amma bry pérack ken lemboe, iang bokayou beta toukar ken artaláin.[27]

However, as the lost work *A playne and a fameliour introdoction toachynge howe to pronounce the letters in the brutisshe toumge &c* (1566/67) shows, readers were also taught to speak the uncivilised English vernacular.[28]

Education was not just about reading and writing, but also about behaviour and status. Courtesy and etiquette were important in early modern England.[29] The Tudor and Stuart period in particular saw the rise of the secretary and the move from militarism to civil duty for the elite.[30] These lessons started young, with lost examples aimed at children and youths: *The Dewty of chreldren towar[d]s thayre masters* (1567/68), *A ploughe manns Laste Will and testament to his sonne at his houre of death* (1607) and *Youthes behavior or Decency in Conversation amongst men* (1636).[31] The final example survives as a fourth edition from 1646, containing such golden rules as:

If any one had begun to rehearse a History; say not, *I know it well*: and if he relate it not a-right, and fully; shake not thy head, twinkle not thine eyes, and snigger not thereat; much lesse maist thou say, *It is not so, you deceive your selfe*.[32]

Letters, personal recommendations and face-to-face communication were also vital to improving one's position.[33] This led to a rise in books on shorthand

27   Gotthard Arthus and Augustine Spalding, *Dialogues in the English and Malaiane languages: or, Certaine common forms of speech, first written in Latin, Malaian, and Madagascar tongues, by the diligence and painfull endevour of Master Gotardus Arthusius, a Dantisker, and now faithfully translated into the English tongue by Augustine Spalding Merchant, for their sakes, who happily shall hereafter undertake a voyage to the East-Indies* (London: Felix Kingston, for William Welby, 1614), p. 15, EEBO. (USTC 3006312).

28   Ar. I. 341. (USTC 523663).

29   Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 3.

30   Lynette Hunter, 'Books for Daily Life: Household, Husbandry, Behaviour', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 525.

31   Ar. I. 362, III. 353, IV. 367. (USTC 523729, 525726, 3032912).

32   Francis Hawkins, *Youths behaviour, or, Decency in conversation amongst men composed in French by grave persons for the use and benefit of their youth; now newly turned into English by Francis Hawkins* (London: W. Wilson, for W. Lee, 1646), p. 39, EEBO. (USTC 3032912).

33   W. Webster Newbold, 'Traditional, Practical, Entertaining: Two Early English Letter Writing Manuals', *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 26.3 (2008), p. 276.

and composing letters. In general these works have a high survival rate. Books on etiquette and behaviour were printed to a higher standard than similar instructional works on husbandry and running a household. This suggests they were destined for the library, and less susceptible to the ravages of use.[34]

Print opened up new worlds of learning on a wide range of topics. In the second century of print, new texts in the fields of history, natural sciences and economics began to be printed alongside works in well-tilled disciplines such as rhetoric, classics and philosophy. The high survival rate of these works of higher learning has obviously facilitated scholarly research. Daniel Woolf has shown how printed history provided a more cohesive understanding of England's past.[35] Works of this sort were generally larger and more expensive than other types of books.[36] They were also more likely to make their way into a library.[37]

The new market conditions were propitious for the building of libraries. In the first age of print personal libraries generally represented the tools of the trade for members of the legal, medical or clerical professions. Now book owners indulged in far more eclectic collections. Analysis of book ownership in Cambridge showed owners of Latin medical books were mainly laymen rather than practicing physicians.[38] Books of travel and discovery were most popular in the 1590s and early 1600s, with translated works mixed in with first-hand accounts by Englishmen on their travels.[39] Lost titles include *The memorable historye of Levinus Apollonius Conteyninge the Discovery of Peru* (1596), *The travailes of master HENRY TYMBERLEY from the grand Caire [i.e. Cairo] in Egipt to Jerusalem* (1601) and *The true and perfect discription of 3 voyages so strange and wonderfull that the like was neverheard of before, done and performed 3 yeares one after another by the shipps of Holland and Zealand on the north side of Northway, Muscovia, and Tartaria toward the kingdome of Cathaia and China &c*

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34   Hunter, 'Books for Daily Life', p. 514.

35   Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500–1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 274.

36   David L. Gants, 'A Quantitative Analysis of the London Book Trade 1614–1618', *Studies in Bibliography*, 55 (2012), p. 190.

37   Helen Smith, '"Rare Poemes Ask Rare Friends": Popularity and Collecting in Elizabethan England', in Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (eds.), *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 81.

38   Peter Murray Jones, 'Book Ownership and the Lay Culture of Medicine in Tudor Cambridge', in Hilary Marland and Margaret Pelling (eds.), *The Task of Healing: Medicine, Religion and Gender in England and the Netherlands 1450–1800* (Rotterdam: Erasmus, 1996), p. 56.

39   Brennan, 'The Literature of Travel', p. 246.

(1609).[40] Travel works contained thrilling descriptions of strange animals, savage natives and the dangers of traversing the seas. Even if the voyage did not kill you, your shipmates might:

> The 27. day being Saterday, the lamentablest accident happened … the Captaines and Maisters went to [Master Winter's] burial and according to the order of the sea, there was 2. or 3. great ordinances discharged at his going a shoare, but the maister Gunner of the Admirall being not so carefull as he should have beene, unfortunately killed Maister *Brand* Captaine of the *Ascension* and the Boatswaines mate of the same ship, to the great danger of the Maister, his mare and another Marchant who were hurt and besprinckled with the bloud of these massacred men, so these men going to the burial of another were themselves carried to their owne graves.[41]

This interest in new worlds opening up through long voyages of exploration can also be associated with the rising demand for works on navigation, mathematics and scientific instruments.[42]

It was not just the natural world that interested readers. Other works that survived in large numbers include books of curiosities, treatises on witchcraft and displays of strange animals and monsters. Over two-thirds of these texts listed in the Stationers' Register survive, including a number of broadsheet descriptions of so-called monstrous births. These often contained a finely drawn and accurate medical representation and for that reason were frequently collected by medical practitioners.[43] Some lost examples include, *A pycture of a chylde borne in the I[s]le of Wyghte with a cluster of grapes aboute yt[s] navel* entered 1564/65, *A warninge against the superstition of wytches and the madnes of magicians* from 1576 and *Dæmonologie in forme of A Dialogue Devided into*

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40   Ar. III. 62, 193, 409. (USTC 525303, 525503, 527561).

41   Anon, *A true and large discourse of the voyage of the whole fleete of ships set forth the 20. of Aprill 1601. by the Governours and assistants of the East Indian marchants in London, to the East Indies Wherein is set downe the order and manner of their traffique, the description of the countries, the nature of the people and their language, with the names of all the men dead in the voyage* (London: Richard Read, for Thomas Thorp, sold by William Aspley, 1603), pp. 8–9, EEBO. (USTC 3001198).

42   Susan Rose, 'Mathematics and the Art of Navigation: The Advance of Scientific Seamanship in Elizabethan England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 14 (2004), p. 184.

43   Robert Hole, 'Incest, Consanguinity and a Monstrous Birth in Rural England, January 1600', *Social History*, 25.2 (2000), p. 195.

Three partes from 1603.[44] Even though there were strong beliefs in the super-natural world, these works were not always taken seriously. An entry by Ric Jones in 1583 shows him paying 'for printinge a thinge beinge *A monster* which he undertaketh to print of his own perill'.[45]

Unsurprisingly, images sold separately were far less likely to survive (14%). The majority of images entered were engraved portraits. Technical reasons meant that the printing of maps and atlases was treated rather differently from book production, not least because engravings required a separate roller press.[46] Individual maps that were entered generally had links to a current news event. The entry *A Map of Breda* (1624) refers to the Siege of Breda which was an important Spanish victory during the Dutch Revolt.[47] Even though the map has not survived, it was advertised in a contemporary newsbook. Making an engraved map took time and in the advertisement readers were warned 'you may not expect this Map this six days'.[48]

Images could be quite large items. The surviving book *An abstracts of the geneolege and Race of all the kynges of Englonde frome the floude of noe unto brute genealogy* (1562/63) consisted of twenty-five sheets.[49] Not all the images were destined to be sold separately. The entry of *The Portrature of [LANCELOT ANDREWES] the b[ishop]. of Winchester* was 'to be fixed with the workes'.[50] It survives as the frontispiece to a collection of Lancelot Andrewes' sermons from 1632.[51] Images in general were used to portray authority.[52] This explains why the majority of images are portraits of people in a position of power, often with armorial symbols. Lost engraved images include, *The Armes of all the Cumpanyes of the worshipfull cyttye of London* (1589), *The kinges portrature,*

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44   Ar. I. 266, II. 302, III. 231. (USTC 523424, 524009, 525555).

45   Ar. II. 428. (USTC 524537).

46   Laurence Worms, 'Maps and Atlases', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 228.

47   Ar. IV. 123. (USTC 526284).

48   Anon, *September 16 Number 33 The Continuation of the Weekly Newes from Septem: the 11, to the 16. 1624* (London, for Nathaniel Butter, and Nicholas Bourne, 1624), p. 18, British Newspapers 1600–1950 On-line. (USTC 3011412).

49   Ar. I. 211. ESTC S115534. (USTC 505711).

50   Ar. IV. 271. (USTC 3016010).

51   Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI. sermons by the Right Honourable and Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes, late Lord Bishop of Winchester* (London: Richard Badger, 1632), EEBO. (USTC 3016011).

52   Alastair Bellany, 'Buckingham Engraved: Politics, Print Images and the Royal Favourite in the 1620s', in Michael Hunter (ed.), *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham: Routledge, 2010), p. 221.

with 3 crownes above and supporters beneath in the Compartment, &c (1616) and
*KATHERIN[E] lady Marqmonesse of BUCKINGHAM with her armes quartered
over her head* (1622).[53]

'Beautie is like an Almanacke: if it last a yeare, t'is well'[54]

One of the genres of book with the poorest survival rates is the almanac. Out
of 113 almanacs entered, only a third can be traced to a surviving copy. Unfor-
tunately, as almanacs became the monopoly of Richard Watkins and James
Roberts in 1571, very few almanacs were entered in the Register after this date.[55]
In 1603, they became part of the English Stock.[56] Nevertheless, in the first two
decades of the Register, almanacs accounted for a third of the entries of works
of instruction.

   Almanacs had a number of uses, providing calendars and information on
the weather, astrology, health and agriculture. This variety is displayed in three
of the lost titles from 1565/66: *An almanacke and a pronostication of master
JOACHIM HEWBRYGHT with the breffe and profytable Rule for marynors to
knowe the ebbes floddes Sowndynges landynges markes and Dangers*, *An allma-
nacke and pronostication sett oute by master GAYLE towchyng Surgery* and *An
almanacke with the names of the kynges*.[57] They were mainly printed in octa-
vo, consisting of three folded sheets sold unbound for between 2d and 4d.[58]
Broadsheet almanacs were rarer but there are a couple in the Register and in
1584 Watkins allowed his privilege for wall almanacs to be used by the poor
members of the Company.[59] Use was one of the main reasons for the almanac's

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53   Ar. II. 536, III. 591, IV. 77. (USTC 527437, 526003, 526218).

54   Thomas Adams, *The happines of the church, or, A description of those spirituall preroga-
      tives wherewith Christ hath endowed her considered in some contemplations upon part of
      the 12. chapter of the Hebrewes: together with certain other meditations and discourses upon
      other portions of Holy Scriptures, the titles whereof immediately precede the booke: being the
      summe of diverse sermons preached in S. Gregories London* (London: George Purslowe, for
      John Grismond, 1619), p. 234, EEBO. (USTC 3008712).

55   Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500–1800* (London:
      Faber, 1979), p. 29.

56   Peter Blayney, 'William Cecil and the Stationers', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris
      (eds.), *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550–1990* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibli-
      ographies, 1997), p. 16.

57   Ar. I. 300, 301, 302. (USTC 527543, 523523, 523529).

58   Simon Schaffer, 'Science', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 402;
      Lauren Kassell, 'Almanacs and Prognostications', in *Ibid.*, p. 431.

59   'A list of Books Presented by the Patentees for the Use of the Poor of the Stationers' Com-
      pany' (1584), in Ar. II. 787.

low survival rate as this format allowed for them to be carried about or pasted on walls. One character at the festivities of the Queen's progress to Bissam in 1592 said of an almanac, 'I ever carrie it, to knowe the hye waies, to everie good towne, the faires, and the faire weather'.[60]

Sixteenth-century almanacs only survive in single copies, or occasionally two. Bearing in mind almanacs were printed in the tens of thousands of copies, the rate of loss is extraordinarily high. It is only in the seventeenth century that almanacs begin to survive in higher numbers; a full series of almanacs from 1613 survives in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[61] This absence of surviving copies has obviously impeded research on almanacs printed in the sixteenth century. In Louise Hill Curth's monograph on medicine in sixteenth and seventeenth century almanacs, extant almanacs from the sixteenth century account for less than five per cent of the items listed in her bibliography.[62] Often their only reason for survival is if they have been used as diaries or account books.[63] Blank almanacs acted like calendars, providing key dates and spaces in which users could write down events.[64] This means in losing almanacs, there is also loss of information on the people who bought them and on how they were used.

Almanacs were seasonal and distributed one or two months before the New Year.[65] The entries in the 1560s do not have individual entry dates, but between 4 September and 27 October 1564, seven almanacs were entered by different stationers:

> Thomas Marshe *An almanacke of HENRY LOOWE for the yere of our lorde god 1565*
> Henry Rocheforth *An allmanacke and a pronostication of his owne makynge for the yere of our lorde god 1565*
> William Griffith *An almanacke and pronostication of GEORGE WYLLIAMS for the yere of our lorde god 1565*
> John Allde *An almanacke and pronostication of FFRAUNCES COXE for the yere of our lorde god 1565*

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60   Joseph Barnes, *Speeches delivered to Her Majestie this last progresse at the Right Honorable the Lady Russels, at Bissam, the Right Honorable the Lorde Chandos at Sudley, at the Right Honorable the Lord Norris, at Ricorte* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1592), sig. Biiii*v*, EEBO. (USTC 512054).

61   Adam Smyth, 'Almanacs and Ideas of Popularity', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten*, p. 127.

62   Louise Hill Curth, *English Almanacs, Astrology and Popular Medicine: 1550–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 236–245.

63   Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p. 61.

64   Kassell, 'Almanacs and Prognostications', p. 437.

65   Simmons, 'ABCs, Almanacs, Ballads, Chapbooks, Popular Piety and Textbooks', p. 509.

Ralph Newbery *An almanacke and pronostication of master BUCKE-MAISTER for the yere of our lorde god 1565*

Abraham Veale *An almanacke and pronostication of master WYLLIAM CONYNGHAM for the yere of our Lorde god 1565*

Thomas Purfoote *An almanacke and pronostication of HENRY ROCHE-FORTHE for the yere of our Lorde god 1565*.[66]

None of these entries can be traced to an extant copy. These entries also show how once an almanac writer had established a reputation, they tended to be printed by the same stationer every year. Of the ten almanacs written by Henry Low, nine were printed by Thomas Marshe. Despite being the most prevalent name in the almanac entries, not much is known about Low. The only information comes from the title pages which refer to him as a Doctor of physic working in Salisbury.[67]

Almanacs are the only genre of cheap print where the name of the author is important. Ninety percent have a named author, giving us a total of thirty-four almanac writers listed in the Register. One lost almanac was written and entered by the bookseller Henry Rocheforth.[68] Almanacs also acted as a form of advertisement for the writers who hoped to gain a wealthy patron.[69] William Cuningham was one of a number of astrologers working under the patronage of Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester.[70] In the sixteenth century, almanac authors were often very learned gentlemen. Cuningham and John Securis were physicians, while Thomas Buckminster was a Church of England clergyman.[71] Decline in the belief in astrology in the following century challenged the scientific credentials of the writers.[72] Richard Brathwaite in 1631 wrote of an almanac writer, 'hee talks much of the 12. *Signes*, yet I am confident, that one might perswade him that the *Cardinals Hat*, or *Sarazens head* were one of them' and

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66   Ar. i. 263–265. (USTC 523406, 523407, 523408, 523410, 523411, 523412, 523417).

67   Henry Low, *A new almanacke* [*and*] *prognostication, for the yeare of our Lorde God. 1569. Practised in Salesbury, neare to the close gate by Maister Henry Low* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1569), sig. Ai, EEBO. (USTC 506977).

68   Ar. i. 263. (USTC 523407).

69   Curth, *English Almanacs, Astrology and Popular Medicine*, p. 55.

70   Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p. 180.

71   Norman Moore, *rev.* Sarah Bakewell, 'Securis [Hatchett], John (*fl.* 1550–1580)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25001> [2 August 2016]; Samuel Pyeatt Menefee, 'Cuningham, William (*c.* 1531–1586)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6911> [2 August 2016]; Joseph Gross, 'Buckminster [Buckmaster], Thomas (1531/2–1599)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3872> [2 August 2016].

72   Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p. 277.

that 'he has some small scruple of *Physician* in him … but had he a store of *Patients*, hee would slaughter more than a *Pestilence*'.[73]

The transient nature of the genre meant that the almanac became a by-word for loss.[74] Almanacs were designed to be replaced at the end of the year, which is why the titles often contain a date. A jest book tale between a scholar and his young wife deftly exploits this for comic effect:

> Sir saith shee, I could wish my selfe that I had been made a booke, for then you would bee still peering upon mee, and I should never night nor day bee out of your fingers: so would I sweet heart, answered he, so I might chuse what booke, to whom she againe answered, and what booke would you wish mee to bee, marry sweet wife saith he, an Almanacke, for so I might have every yeer a new one.[75]

This transience also made them profitable for stationers.[76] In 1562/63 William Powell was fined for illegally printing an edition of Nostradamus, while another nineteen were fined for selling it.[77]

Almanacs were not the only seasonal works with low survival rates. Giving a book as a New Year's gift via a dedication became tradition between writers and patrons in the sixteenth century.[78] In 1593 Thomas Churchyard described his 'book called a pleasant conceite' as 'a new yeeres gift, to the Queenes Majestie'.[79] Books were also given as gifts to individuals during life, or passed on after death.[80] The New Year's Gift broadside was therefore an important genre, although poor survival means that not much is known about them.[81]

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73 Richard Brathwaite, *Whimzies: or, a new cast of characters* (London: Felix Kingston, sold by Ambrose Ritherdon, 1631), p. 4, p. 5, EEBO. (USTC 3015405).

74 Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p. 66.

75 Archie Armstrong, *A banquet of Jeasts. Or Change of cheare Being a collection of moderne jests. Witty jeeres. Pleasant taunts. Merry tales* (London: for Richard Royston, 1630), p. 44, EEBO. (USTC 3014970).

76 Curth, *English Almanacs, Astrology and Popular Medicine*, p. 52.

77 Ar. I. 216–217.

78 Edwin Haviland Miller, 'New Year's Day Gift Books in the Sixteenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, 15 (1962), p. 234.

79 Thomas Churchyard, *Churchyard's Challenge* (London: [Edward Allde, for] John Wolfe, 1593), sig. **, EEBO. (USTC 512326).

80 Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 33 (1983), p. 73.

81 Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 250.

They were generally religious or moral in tone. Only four out of nineteen survive. The lost publication *The .vj. newe yeres gift and iiijth proclamacon of outlawrye &c* entered by printer and bookseller John Allde in 1579 is particularly interesting as it shows that six had previously been printed.[82] However, only his second New Year's gift, printed in 1576 is extant.[83]

Prognostications were a related genre: similar in some respects to almanacs but without the full technical apparatus necessary for professional purposes. Prognostications were mainly put together with almanacs, but the Register contains twenty instances of separate publications. Prognostications contained prophecies based on the position of the planets, although some writers were clearly hedging their bets. In 1624, Italian mathematician Gionvanni Antonio Magini wrote that his prognostication 'hath above two hundred declarations or points, and therefore if the one halfe, or the fourth part, be but true it will be well'.[84] As with almanacs, only a third are extant, and none of the twelve entered separately before 1570 have survived.

What Do You Want? Information

One of the biggest problems using contemporary catalogues, inventories and bibliographies as a window on the book world is that they frequently do not include ephemeral items. This is the case with jobbing print; items such as indentures, bills and briefs, which were quick to print and potentially very lucrative. Some entries had a high entry price suggesting quite a large amount of print was being produced. On 30 October 1587, both *Billes for pryses [i.e. prizes] at fencinge, as masters pryses, and Schollers pryse &c* and *All manner of Billes for players* were entered for a fee of 2s 6d.[85] In the sixteenth century a large number of these prints were held under privilege and not entered in the Register. Proclamations were printed by the King/Queen's printer, while the City of London had an official printer.[86] The very few bills and indentures entered

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82   Ar. II. 346. (USTC 524146).

83   ESTC S114547. (USTC 508150).

84   Giovanni Antonio Magini, *A strange and wonderfull prognostication: or rather, prenomination of those accidents which shall, or at least are likely to happen as may be conjectured by the rules and directions of astrology, in this year 1624* (London: E. Allde, for Nathaniel Butter, 1624), sig. A2, EEBO. (USTC 3011453).

85   Ar. II. 477. (USTC 524736, 524737).

86   H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640 Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reigns of James I and Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

in the Register before 1601 also suggests that most documents of this character continued to circulate in oral or manuscript form until the seventeenth century.

All this changed in the seventeenth century, with the rise in jobbing print entries illustrating how print was increasingly being used to spread and record all kinds of information. The best single example of this comes from 1621, when Thomas Symcock and Roger Wood gained a patent for printing broadsheets. Although this patent was undermined by previous privileges, the list of items shows the variety of knowledge being spread by print. The patent included:

> All Briefes for Collections
> All Publications concerning any Letters Patents
> Indentures for Apprentises, Water-workes, Drayning of Lands, & other things
> All Bondes and Recognizances for Victualers, Alehouse-keepers and others
> Licences to Collect or gather by
> Licences for Victualers
> Licences for the selling of Wines
> And all other Licences
> All Bondes, Billes, and Acquittances for payments, or receipts of money
> Articles concerning the Visitation of Bishops, Archdeacons, or their Officials
> Billes for teaching of Schollers
> Billes concerning Physitians, Chyrurgions, or others
> All Billes for Playes, Challenges, Prizes, Sportes, or Showes whatsoever
> All Epitaphes, Inscriptions or other Copies, either in Prose or Verse
> All Portratures, and Pictures whatsoever
> Ballads
> Billes of Lading
> Mappes
> Damaske paper
> Borders
> Printed paper for Silkes, Fustians, and other Wares
> Writs and Warrants for Sheriffes, and Justices of Peace
> Letters Patents texed
> Indentures texed
> Billes for the Court of Conscience

1970), p. 54; Mark Jenner, 'London', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 303.

Pariters Billes
Billes of Sicknes
And all other Coppies, Chartes, & thinges whatsoever, to bee Imprinted,
Roled, or done upon the one side of Paper or Parchment, in Secretary
hand or otherwise.[87]

Most of the printed items on Symcock's list also appear as entries in the Regis-
ter, although the Register does not contain any examples of pariter bills, which
refer to ecclesiastical courts, or to borders, the decorative scenes placed round
the edges of a text.

Unsurprisingly, editions of these, mainly single-sheet, works have an ex-
tremely low survival rate. Only 5% of jobbing print entries survived. Even this
estimate may be generous as some entries reference entire series of works
where there may only be a handful of survivors. James Raven has already
highlighted the impact jobbing print in the eighteenth century had on the
development of the English economy.[88] Though the scale of sixteenth- and
seventeenth-century jobbing print appears significantly smaller than that of
eighteenth-century England, our knowledge is heavily distorted by poor rates
of survival. Symcock's list and the lost entries in the Register are fundamental
in our re-evaluation of the use and availability of this frequently ignored genre.

Jobbing print had a variety of purposes. Many of the entries provided eco-
nomic and legal information for merchants and traders. This included *Billes
for the shipping of Marchantes goodes* (1582), *A bill of the prices of all kinde of
mercerye and silke wares* (1609) and *Indentures to bind children apprentizes, by
Direction of the Churchwardens and overseers of the poore, with the assent of the
Justices of peace of severall counties according to the lawes in that case provided*
(1619).[89] Others had more social and specific uses, such as *The petition of the
poore prisoners in the Gaile of the fleete* [*i.e. in the old Fleet prison*] from 1617,
*The Indentures for Drayninge of Landes in the Countyes of Cambridge, Isle of Ely
Northfolke Southfolke, Northampton Lincolne and Huntingdon* entered in 1619
and *The petition for the poore Distracted people in the house of Bethlem* from
1620.[90] Four of the five broadsheet tables of interest entered in the Register
survive, although it is not clear why. These would have been used primarily to

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87   James I, *An abstract of His Majesties letters patents graunted unto Roger Wood and Thomas
      Symcocke* (London: Roger Wood, and Thomas Symcock, 1623), EEBO. (USTC 3011045).
88   James Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: The Boy-
      dell Press, 2014), p. 1.
89   Ar. II. 416, III. 418, 651. (USTC 524477, 525809, 526124).
90   Ar. II. 607, III. 660, 666. (USTC 526019, 526131, 526139).

keep track of finances by showing how to calculate monthly interest on a loan. One of the survivors from 1598 contains a moral poem at the bottom concerning borrowing and lending money. There is also a handwritten reference to a Bible quote from Zechariah on stealing.[91] Clearly, the owner felt the need to enhance the moral message.

Another important function was advertising. This was done both by the government and individuals. A number of broadsheet entries in the Register involved fundraising for the settlement of the new colony in Virginia. It started off in 1611 with bills of adventure; certificates for people investing money into the Virginia Company.[92] The lotteries began a year later in 1612, with people gambling on winning prizes rather than on the success of the Company.[93] Prizes for the Virginia lottery were paid in 'ready money, plate, or other goods reasonably rated' and the money raised would supply the colony with men and provisions.[94] It is not clear how many Virginia Company lotteries took place in London before they were cancelled by Parliament in 1621, and unfortunately there are very few lottery advertisements entered or surviving.[95] All the works printed about Virginia and the lottery were entered by William Welby who appears to have been the chosen bookseller for the Virginia Company. His name is even listed as one of the investors of the enterprise in the Second Charter of Virginia from 1609.[96]

Curiously, the small number of non-government broadsheet advertisements all survived. This includes a copy of a tournament advertisement from 1581, and an advertisement for 'a newe kind of ffyer' in 1627.[97] These advertisements could be very useful for getting the word out. At the bottom of a surviving advertisement on a new farming invention by Gabriel Plattes is a

91   Anon, *A necessarie table of losse or gaine after tenne in the hundred, both by the month, and the yeare, as shall be required* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1598), EEBO. (USTC 513566).

92   Ar. III. 457. (USTC 3005764). Dennis Montgomery, *1607: Jamestown and the New World* (Virginia: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), p. 29.

93   Ar. III. 478. (USTC 527933).

94   Virginia Company of London, *A declaration for the certaine time of drawing the great standing lottery* (London: Felix Kingston, for William Welby, 1615 [=1616]), EEBO. (USTC 3006902).

95   Emily Rose, 'The End of the Gamble: The Termination of the Virginia Lotteries in March 1621', *Parliamentary History*, 27 (2008), p. 184.

96   *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, And Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, And Colonies, Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America*, ed. Francis Newton Thorpe, Vol. VII (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), p. 3793.

97   Ar. II. 387, IV. 190.

contemporary handwritten note recommending the inventor and the invention to the recipient.[98]

Print was also used for official records of specific institutions. Lost examples entered in the Register include 'indentures to be printed for the Companie of Merchant Tailours' entered in 1595 and *Blancke nickells, prorsus and Attachmentes* 'for the Stannerye office in the Countyes of Cornewall and Devon' from 1628.[99] Stannaries were tin-mining districts in Cornwall and Devon which had special customs, privileges and courts.[100] From the entry alone it is somewhat unclear exactly what the book contained.

Register evidence for lost jobbing print can be verified by other documents. The earliest extant weekly bills of mortality are from 1603, but an entry by John Wolfe suggests they were printed in 1593 following an outbreak of plague in the City.[101] This corresponds with John Graunt's work on *Natural and Political Observations* (1662) that claims mortality bills for 1592–94 were printed but did not survive.[102] John Wolfe was the City of London printer from 1593 to 1601 so would have been in charge of printing mortality bills during this period.[103] Interestingly the entry for bills of mortality in 1603 indicated that stationer John Windet 'shall print London and the Liberties thereof by them selves in one sheete. And the places in Middlesex and Surrey by them selves in Another sheete'.[104] Although a series of bills for London survive from 1603, bills for Middlesex and Surrey cannot be traced.[105] These bills were produced for the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks who may have kept copies of the

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98   Gabriel Plattes, *Certaine new inventions and profitable experiments necessary to be known of all farmers, and others, that endeavour to procure benefit to themselves, and plenty to the commonwealth* (London: Richard Bishop, for Andrew Hebb, 1640), EEBO. (USTC 3021357).

99   Ar. II. 670, IV. 200. (USTC 509239, 3013899).

100   'Stannary, n.', Oxford English Dictionary On-Line, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/1890 18?redirectedFrom=stannary> [2 August 2016].

101   Stephen Greenberg, 'Plague, the Printing Press, and Public Health in Seventeenth-Century London', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67.4 (2004), p. 510. Ar. II. 634. (USTC 525112).

102   John Graunt, *Natural and political observations mentioned in a following index, and made upon the bills of mortality by John Graunt; with reference to the government, religion, trade, growth, ayre, diseases, and the several changes of the said city* (London: Tho. Roycroft, for John Martin, James Allestry, and Tho. Dicas, 1662), p. 4, EEBO.

103   I. Gadd, 'Wolfe, John (*b.* in or before 1548?, *d.* 1601)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29834> [2 August 2016].

104   Ar. III. 243. (USTC 3001367).

105   ESTC S4373. (USTC 3001305).

London bills for their own records. Unfortunately, most of the Company re-
cords were destroyed during the bombings in World War II.[106]

Some of the broadsheets in the Register with the lowest survival rates are the
patents for losses by sea and fire. These documents allowed people to recoup
the money lost by sea or fire by collecting through charitable donations for a
year. They were also used to help raise money to build churches and save cap-
tives in Algiers.[107] All eighty entries were made by Thomas Purfoote in 1617–18
and granted by the King, suggesting Purfoote had a privilege. These briefs were
used by a range of people across England. In Purfoote's entries on 8 July 1617,
the *Briefes of letters pattentes for losses by sea and fire* were printed for:

> RICHARD HANWELL of Bugby in the County of Nottingham
> WILLIAM MANNOCKE of Hardly in the County of Norfolk
> MARY FFLEMINGE of Dover
> MARY COKE of Saint Martins in the feildes [parish near London]
> The Maiour and Citizens of Lincolne
> THOMAS DUNNING and other of Saint Buttolphes [parish in London]
> ALLEN PHILLIPES and others of Newmarkett
> THOMAS COLEMAN of Woolwich
> JOHN STANDLEY of Yarmouth marrinour
> THOMAS TEMPLE of Hanfield in the County of Nottingham.[108]

None of the eighty patents entered can be traced to a surviving copy. Presum-
ably, most of these single-sheet briefs were destroyed once the year of receiv-
ing charity was over, although a couple that Purfoote did not enter from 1619
survive in a church in Norfolk.[109] Also there is sometimes enough detail to see
the results from the money raised. The 1617 entry for *GEORGE BLOMFIELD, to
build a church at Clare* may refer to the building of the chancel at St Peter and
Paul church in Clare which took place 1617–19.[110]

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106   'Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks', London Metropolitan Archives Collections Cata-
       logue   On-Line,   <http://search.lma.gov.uk/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LMA_OPAC/web_
       detail/REFD+CLC~2FL~2FPB?SESSIONSEARCH> [2 August 2016].

107   Ar. III. 617. (USTC 526057, 526054).

108   Ar. III. 611.

109   ESTC S92023, S92024. (USTC 527192, 527723).

110   Ar. III. 617. (USTC 526060). Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Suffolk* (2nd ed.,
       London: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 166.

Practical Print

Another rising genre of print was the how-to manual, sometimes referred to as didactic print. These instructional works grew in importance over the period, particularly after the mid-seventeenth century.[111] Despite two-thirds of these how-to works surviving, not much is written about them, with research focusing on authors, particularly Gervase Markham. This is not surprising given his proflicacy in writing books on agriculture and animal medicine. Indeed, in 1617 there were so many of his books available at the same time that Markham had to sign a decree for the Stationers' Company agreeing 'never to write any more book or books to be printed, of *the Deseases or cures of any Cattle, as Horse, Oxe, Cowe, sheepe, Swine and Goates &c'*.[112] Markham's works were also transported to the colonies. A cargo inventory for a ship heading to America in 1620 contained husbandry manuals by him.[113]

Nevertheless, less than 40% of the how-to manuals entered were on husbandry and animal medicine, only nine of which were listed in the Register as by Markham. Andrew Maunsell's 1595 bibliography contains a handful of cookery books, and references to lost items such as *A booke sheweinge howe to make all manner of Inke, and howe to wryte with gold and silver, with Diverse other notable Directions to write and laye all manner of cullours uppon parchement and otherwise* entered by John Wolfe in 1591.[114] However, for 'books of *Debitour and Creditour'* (keeping accounts), Maunsell commented, 'I have not thought good to put in this Catalogue'.[115] This is unfortunate as out of the thirteen accounting books entered, only six survive. Some items survived because they addressed an unusual subject. Both works entered on creating fireworks, *A Treatise of Artificiall Fire workes both for Warres and Recreation* (1629) and *Pirotechina or a discourse of Artificiall fyre workes* (1635), survive in eight and twenty-four copies respectively.[116]

111   Natasha Glaisyer, 'Popular Didactic Literature', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 510.

112   Ar. III. 317. Wendy Wall, 'Renaissance National Husbandry: Gervase Markham and the Publication of England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27.3 (1996), p. 780.

113   Jennifer Mylander, 'Early Modern "How-to" Books: Impractical Manuals and the Construction of Englishness in the Atlantic World', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 9.1 (2009), p. 123.

114   Andrew Maunsell, 'The Seconde Part of the Catalogue of English Printed Books', *Andrew Maunsell: The Catalogue of English Printed Books* (*1595*) (London: Gregg Press in association with the Archive Press, 1965), p. 23. Ar. II. 580. (USTC 527776).

115   Maunsell, 'The Seconde Part of the Catalogue of English Printed Books', p. 2.

116   ESTC S109781, S106893. (USTC 3014096, 3017711).

These didactic works can be used to understand the changes in learning and knowledge that occurred over the early modern period.[117] William Eamon showed how books of secrets containing recipes for cures and advice on the ingredients influenced theories on experimentation.[118] These books paved the way for the newer genre of how-to manuals which provided more accessible ways of acquiring practical knowledge, from husbandry and hunting to healing and brewing.[119] Lost examples include *A booke of Engins for the destruction of vermyne Crowes and sparrowes, with the governement of Oxen, kyen, Calves, horse, shepes, hoges, mowles, and dogges* (1583), *A perfecte waye to preserve wyne from marrynye [marinating] &c* (1591) and *Accomptinge Tables wherewith any one may by the helpe of Pegges Cast up any summe, be it greate or small, under 1000000 L* (1617).[120] These books often covered multiple skills. One surviving work includes instructions for dyeing cloth and removing stains as well as for working with iron and making tools.[121] Many of these works were also designed to be carried around. One lost title *A composte or manuell of the hunde*, entered 1566/67, is described as a book 'you may easly and with small travele'.[122]

These books attracted a variety of readers. While larger works were aimed at a new group of unemployed aristocracy who had time to learn how to swim or play the lute, or the money to buy and run a house in the country, smaller manuals catered for craftsmen and people with smaller incomes.[123] Household tasks such as preserving, carving, brewing and caring for animals were often carried out by women.[124] This led to lost titles such as *The huswyfes hand mayde for the kitchin* (1601) and *The Booke of Breds [? Braids], of girdles, of pointes, of Bracelets, and of Letters* (1622).[125] Entries also targeted specific trades and crafts such as *The Secretes of the arte profumitorye &c* (1591), *A booke of Gauging*

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117   Glaisyer and Pennell, 'Introduction', p. 3.

118   William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 9.

119   *Ibid.*, p. 234.

120   Ar. II. 428, 579, III. 604. (USTC 524535, 525009, 526014).

121   Leonard Mascall, *A profitable book declaring dyvers approved remedies, to take out spottes and staines, in silks, velvets, linnnen [sic] and woollen clothes. With divers colours how to die velvets and silks, linnen and woollen, fustian and threade. Also to dresse leather, and to colour felles. How to gylde, grave, sowder and vernishe. And to harden and make softe yron and steele* (London: Thomas Purfoot, and William Ponsonby, 1583), EEBO. (USTC 509808).

122   Ar. I. 328. (USTC 523600).

123   Eamon, *Sciences and the Secrets of Nature*, p. 302.

124   Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 19.

125   Ar. III. 187, IV. 80. (USTC 525493, 526220).

very usefull and Necessary for all that deale in Liquid Comodities (1634) and *The Distiller of London for the sole use of the Company of distillers of London, And by them to be duely observed and practised* (1640).[126] Ultimately, these instructional guides helped meet the increased demand for practical knowledge on a variety of practical occupations such as distilling and lace making.[127]

Contemporaries questioned the reliability of the authors behind these instructional works, particularly medicine. 'Such is the extreme folly and madnesse of many Men' wrote one physician in 1602, 'they think every Tinker, Bankerupt, or wandering Fugitive … a sufficient and compleat Physician, to advise, counsel, and direct them'.[128] Medical books ranged from practical medicine and recipes aimed at women and the poor for use at home to more complicated discussions of individual diseases.[129] These included *Remedies for the flixe where the phisition is not present* entered in 1584, *A most rare and excellent remedye for diverse deseases and especially againste Melancholy and the ymperfeccons of the spleene, suche as yt in former ages, the like was never knowen* from 1611 and *A breife discourse of ffeavers &c* from 1637.[130] In the sixteenth century, medical knowledge came from a range of authors. The best-selling medical works were written by lawyers, Sir Thomas Elyot and William Vaughan.[131] There was also a strong link between medicine and astrology.[132] This knowledge often came from experience as well as oral and manuscript sources rather than as a result of any formal medical training.[133] It was only in the seventeenth century and later that the medical profession was able to clamp down on 'unqualified' amateurs and 'quacks'.[134]

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126   Ar. II. 579, IV. 313, 496. (USTC 525007, 3017191, 3020557).

127   Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 6.

128   Johann Oberdorf and Francis Herring, *The anatomyes of the true physition, and counterfeit mountebanke wherein both of them, are graphically described, and set out in their right, and orient colours* (London: Thomas Creede, for Arthur Johnson, 1602), sig. A3, EEBO. (USTC 3000984).

129   Curth, *English Almanacs*, p. 19, p. 26.

130   Ar. II. 435, III. 453, IV. 383. (USTC 524553, 525835, 526799).

131   R.A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500–1800* (2nd ed., London: Longman, 2002), p. 212; Paul Slack, 'Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: the Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England', in Charles Webster (ed.), *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 253.

132   Lauren Kassell, *Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London. Simon Forman: Astrologer, Alchemist, and Physician* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), p. 118.

133   Slack, 'Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men', pp. 257–258.

134   Margaret Pelling, 'Compromised by Gender: The Role of the Male Medical Practitioner in Early Modern England', in *The Task of Healing*, p. 120.

In the early seventeenth century, practical medical books were used increasingly to advertise products and services. On the title page of a work concerning the use of gold powder for purging, it says 'whosoever stand in neede of this powder, may have it at the signe of the Hand and Pistall, neere unto Ivie Bridge, for two shillinge six pence the Graine'.[135] Reputation and recommendations were also important. Apothecary John Clarke took the trouble to list the names of his satisfied customers in his published works. Apparently almost 100 people were cured by his plague cakes, from members of the Privy Council to 'a Rope-seller neere the custom-house'.[136] The apothecary had slightly more discretion when it came to persons 'of better account' cured of kidney stones, 'whose names for feare of giving offence unto them I doe willingly suppresse'.[137]

An author with the proper credentials boosted the appeal of the work. This was not just true for medical works. A lost work on the *The office of Justices of peace* (1585) was written by John Goldwell of Gray's Inn.[138] Another lost work *The Merchantes Mirror or Directions for the perfect booking and survay of his Estate framed by way of Debitour and Creditor after the soe learned Italian Manner &c* (1635) was written by a Northampton accountant.[139] These examples also show how print could itself provide an authority to the authors, allowing them to reach a range of potential customers.[140]

Prose, Poems, Plays and Pleasure

The period 1557–1640 was an important time for the development of the English literary tradition. It was the age of the professional theatre, satirical pamphlets and small booklets of fiction. The late Elizabethan era in particular has been described as a golden age with the names of Shakespeare, Edmund

135   Thomas Russel, *Diacatholicon aureum: or a general power of gold purging all offensive humours in mans bodie: good in general for all diseases, where there needeth any purgation: as also for any sicknesse yearely incident, or which is feared to approach by the increase of any evill humor, distemperature of diet, or otherwise how so ever growing towards any disease, to prevent the same, and keepe the bodie in health* (London: Simon Stafford, for John Flasket, 1602), sig. A1, EEBO. (USTC 3001038).

136   John Clarke, *The trumpet of Apollo sounding out the sweete blast of recoverie, in divers dangerous and desperate diseases* (London: Peter Short, 1602), sig. A6v-B5, EEBO. (USTC 3000835).

137   *Ibid.*, sig. D.

138   Ar. II. 441. (USTC 524568).

139   Ar. IV. 335. (USTC 3017794).

140   Adrian Johns, 'Science and the Book', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 284.

Spenser and Christopher Marlowe looming large in the research of early modern literary culture.[141] This has led to a focus on authors and texts, with only a relatively recent interest in the role of printers and the challenges of publication. Douglas A. Brooks showed that stage plays from the period of professional theatre (1576–1642) were more likely to have a company name than an author name and that some playwrights were more willing to have their texts printed than others.[142] Marta Straznicky, meanwhile, has shown the links between stationers and acting Companies, with ten of the Queen's Men's plays printed by Thomas Creede.[143]

Despite the historiographical focus on the professional theatre, plays and dramatic works do not form the majority of entries. Over two-thirds of works are other prose and verse genres such as fictional stories, satirical verse and social commentaries. Plays were a low risk investment, but did not yield large returns.[144] It has even been argued that poetry books by well-known authors actually sold better than playbooks.[145] Research into non-dramatic works though has relied on the strong survival of controversial pamphlets and books which represent only a fraction of the entries. These include debates on women between Joseph Swetnam and his female opponents, the quarrel between the writers Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe and the satirical tracts that blended fiction with contemporary social issues.[146]

Unfortunately, by title alone, it is sometimes difficult to assess what works were plays and which were written in prose or verse. While 235 entries are listed as a play, tragedy, comedy or 'acted', only 126 entries mention that they were a poem, sonnet, or written in metre or verse. Lost poems include *Verses to diverse good purposes* (1580), *The wourthie knight* (1606) and *Man with his two suites of Clothes, or working Day and holie Day* (1618).[147] However, by including

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141   Pitcher, 'Literature, the Playhouse and the Public', p. 375.

142   Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House*, p. 10, p. 55.

143   Marta Straznicky, 'Introduction: What is a Stationer?' in Marta Straznicky (ed.), *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 8.

144   Holger Schott Syme, 'Thomas Creede, William Barley, and the Venture of Printing Plays', in *Ibid.*, p. 46.

145   Pitcher, 'Literature, the Playhouse and the Public', p. 364.

146   Sara Mendelson, 'Women and Print', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 289; Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 111; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 18.

147   Ar. II. 381, III. 326, 633. (USTC 524329, 525705, 526108).
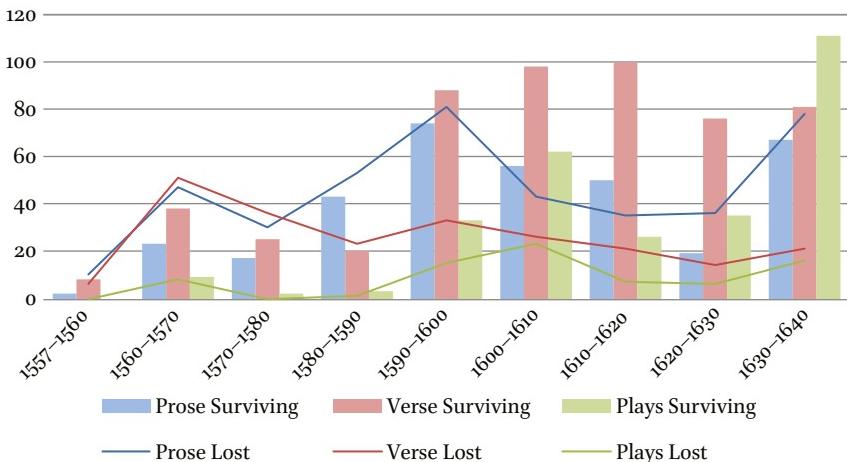
FIGURE 4.2   *Comparison of the loss and survival of prose and verse works and plays entered in the Register, 1557–1640. See corresponding figure in Colour Section.*

evidence of author, surviving copies and later editions, educated judgements can be made. Overall, this means the number of verse and prose entries is roughly equal. This could have an impact on the reliability of survival rates, although the higher survival rate of dramatic works compared to prose matches evidence from the study of lost books in French bibliographies (Figure 4.2).[148]

Verse played a prominent role in early modern literature, particularly in ballad form. One writer from 1598 was especially optimistic when asking, 'What are the effects of poetry?' answering 'Spurres and enticements to vertue'.[149] This did not necessarily create a divide between 'low' ballads and 'high' poetry. The popularity of broadside verse was crucial to the rise of poetry books, with stationer Richard Jones using ballads to fill his miscellanies.[150] This growing market existed alongside a continuing robust manuscript poetry culture, particularly in the 1620s to 1640s.[151]

148   Alexander S. Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French Before 1601', *Library*, 7.10 (2009), p. 202.

149   A.P., *Natural and morall questions and answers. Intermingled with many prettie and pleasant riddles, and darke sentences* (London: Adam Islip, 1598), sig. Dvi*v*, EEBO. (USTC 513565).

150   Eric Nebeker, 'Broadside Ballads, Miscellanies, and the Lyric in Print', *English Literary History*, 76.4 (2009), p. 1010, p. 1006.

151   Andrew McRae, 'Manuscript Culture and Popular Print', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 131.

One verse genre that is easy to identify was the epitaph. This type of poetry was popular in the sixteenth century but has only a 20% survival rate. Little research has therefore been carried out on these single-sheet items filled with panegyric verse. One of the few surviving epitaphs from the 1560s, *An epitaphe upon the worthy and honorable Lady, the Lady KNOWLES* (1569), begins with the verse:

> Death with his Darte hath us bereft,
> a Gemme of worthy fame,
> A Pearle of price, an Ouche of praise,
> the Lady *Knowles* by name.[152]

Lady Katherine Knollys was the daughter of Mary Boleyn, possibly an illegitimate daughter of King Henry VIII.[153] She had a high position in court, counting Queen Elizabeth as one of her closest friends.[154] The printed epitaph replaced the oral tributes paid by minstrels, hence the dominance of nobles being celebrated.[155] M.A. Shaaber suggested broadside epitaphs were popular as they could be pasted on tombs.[156] It is not clear from the evidence, however, whether what he had in mind here were print or manuscript epitaphs. Patronage though remained important. In 1570, there are four entries for epitaphs following the death of William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke.[157] These were all written by different people, one of which, by David Rowland, refers to him as 'my lorde of Pembroke'.[158] Only one of the epitaphs entered on the death of the Earl of Pembroke survives.

Another reason for the popularity of epitaphs was the changing religious environment in England. With the removal of Catholic forms of memorialisation and prayers for the dead, printed epitaphs presented an acceptable way to commemorate the deceased.[159] However, their popularity did not last long.

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152   Thomas Newton, *An epitaphe upon the worthy and honourable lady, the Lady Knowles* (London: William How, for Richard Jones, 1569), EEBO. (USTC 506995).

153   Sally Varlow, 'Knollys [*née* Carey], Katherine, Lady Knollys (*c*. 1523–1569)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69747> [2 August 2016].

154   *Ibid.*

155   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 20.

156   M.A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476–1622* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1966), p. 33.

157   Ar. I. 412, 413. (USTC 523913, 527677, 523917, 523919).

158   Ar. I. 412. (USTC 523917).

159   Scott L. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 24.

No single-sheet epitaph survives before 1558 and none after 1590.[160] Register entries continue until 1593, with only two listed in the seventeenth century. Epitaphs were later only part of larger works often included in collections of poetry. Thomas Churchyard in his book *Churchyard's Chance* (1580) refers to 'epitaphes alreadie printed, or out of my hands', one of which is for Captain Randall.[161] This might refer to the lost work *An Ephethappe of Captayne RANDALL* entered in 1566/67.[162] The rise of printed funeral sermons may also have exacerbated the decline of the epitaph for commemoration.

A number of lost works from the seventeenth century may have been small booklets of fiction (later known as chapbooks). These were usually in quarto, consisting of about twenty-four pages and only costing 1 ½d.[163] These booklets had illustrations on the title page and usually contained jests and traditional characters such as King Arthur and Robin Hood.[164] These works developed from the ballad market as is apparent from the contents:

> Both Gentlemen or Yeomen bould
> or whatsoever you are:
> To have a stately story tould,
> attention now prepare.
> It is a tale of Robbin Hood,
> that I to you will tell:
> Which being rightly understood,
> I know will please you well.[165]

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160 USTC 527875, 511634.

161 Thomas Churchyard, *A pleasaunte laborinth called Churchyardes chance framed on fancies, uttered with verses, and writte[n] to give solace to every well disposed mynde: wherein notwithstanding are many heavie epitaphs, sad and sorowfull discourses and sutche a multitude of other honest pastymes for the season (and passages of witte) that the reader therein maie thinke his tyme well bestowed* (London: John Kingston, 1580), fol. 8, EEBO. (USTC 509017).

162 Ar. 1. 336. (USTC 523634).

163 Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, p. 39.

164 Lori Humphrey Newcomb, 'Chapbooks', in Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p. 484; Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p. 249.

165 Martin Parker, *A true tale of Robbin, or, [A] briefe touch of the life and death o[f that r]enowned outlaw, Robert Earle of Huntin[gton vu]lgarly called Robbin Hood who lived and died in [1]198. being the 9. yeare of the reigne of King R[ichard] the First, commonly called Richard Cuer de Lyou [sic]* (London: Thomas Cotes, sold by Francis Grove, 1632), sig. A3, EEBO. (USTC 3015996).

According to Margaret Spufford, the chapbook market is important evidence that early modern schools in England provided certain levels of literacy and reading.[166] The low rate of survival for small booklets and the rise in their production also helps explain the lower than average survival rate for prose and verse entries overall in the 1630s.

Due to the limited information on format, beyond looking for names of stationers known for printing, publishing or selling small books, it is difficult to tell which entries were booklets. The similarity of the ballad and chapbook market meant ballad stationers often became chapbook stationers.[167] Looking at entries of ballad stationers reveals a potential fifty-one entries of small booklets. Of these, only eleven can be traced to a surviving copy, with four out of five lost. Lost examples include *The history of ffryer BACON with the merry prankes of ROBIN GOODFELLOW* (1631), *TOM a Bedlam* (1634) and *New descriptions or Mad TOMS mighty Travells &c* (1640).[168] The majority of these lost works were entered by Francis Grove, or written by Martin Parker. Parker was a popular ballad and small book writer and booksellers such as Grove and Francis Coles have been accused of attributing works to Martin Parker as his name encouraged sales.[169]

Outside of epitaphs and small books, there are over 500 other lost prose and verse entries. These included books of epigrams and proverbs but the overwhelming majority were fictional tales of joy and woe. They employed a range of traditional and contemporary characters from *A Jeste of syr GAWAYNE* (1557/58) and *The story of JASON how he gotte the golden flece and how he Ded begyle MEDIA* (1565/66) to *The lamentable historie of the deathe of. ij horses somtyme servauntes to NICHOLAS SUIBOR hackeneyman* (1577) and *The Madde pranckes of mery MALL of the Banckside, with her walkes in mans apparell, and to what purpose* (1610).[170] Some lost stories also came in multiple parts. This could be *A letter of a woman sent to hir husband beinge absent from hir* and *An answere of a letter which a woman sent unto hir husband* both entered by Thomas Newton on 21 September 1578 or the twelve parts of *AMADIS De Gaule* entered in 1594.[171] As with ballads, it is not clear why one tale of prose

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166   Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 29.

167   Newcomb, 'Chapbooks', p. 474.

168   Ar. IV. 250, 315, 508. (USTC 526540, 526696, 527076).

169   Joad Raymond, 'Parker, Martin (*fl.* 1624–1647)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21326> [2 August 2016].

170   Ar. I. 79, 299, II. 313, III. 441. (USTC 523052, 523512, 524037, 525827).

171   Ar. II. 341, 662. (USTC 524134, 524135). *Amadis de Gaule: translated by Anthony Munday*, ed. Helen Moore (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); John J. O'Connor, *Amadis de Gaule and its Influence on Elizabethan Literature* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970).

or verse was more likely to survive than another. This may have more to do with chance than anything else.

In contrast, 80% of playbook entries can be traced to a surviving copy. Playbooks in particular have been subjected to plenty of analysis. Zachary Lesser has shown how the print version and stage version of a play was not necessarily the same.[172] This is because, even though the cost of a book was similar to the cost of a play ticket, they catered to different audiences.[173] Entries show links with performances, including *A morall of Clothe breches and velvet hose, As yt is Acted by my lord Chamberlens servants* from 1600, *'The true historye of GEORGE SCANDERBARGE' as yt was lately playd by the right honorable the Earle of OX-ENFORD his servantes* entered in 1601 and *'The history of RICHARD WHIT-TINGTON of his lowe byrthe. his great fortune' as yt was plaied by the prynces servants* from 1605.[174] None of these plays can be traced to a printed copy, and the Register entries have been used as evidence that they ever existed.[175] The perception that print saved a play from being lost was commented upon by contemporaries. Robert Keysar, manager of an acting company thanked the publisher Walter Burre for printing a failed stage play that 'was in danger to have been smothered in perpetuall oblivion'.[176] Success in print may be one of the reasons the play was successfully brought back to the stage a decade later.[177]

Playbooks, however, were not the only dramatic entries. Twenty-seven entries labelled interludes were entered between 1557 and 1609. These tended to be shorter dramas often performed between the acts of longer plays. The title page of the surviving interlude *The Repentaunce of MARY MAGDALEN &c* (1566) indicates that it required only four people to act it out.[178] The lost title

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172 Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 19.

173 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

174 Ar. III. 161, 187, 282. (USTC 525449, 525490, 525641).

175 'Cloth Breeches and Velvet Hose (>1600)', Lost Plays Database, <https://www.lostplays.org/index.php?title=Cloth_Breeches_and_Velvet_Hose> [2 August 2016]; 'George Scanderbeg (c. 1601)', Lost Plays Database, <https://www.lostplays.org/index.php?title=George_Scanderbeg> [2 August 2016]; 'Richard Whittington (1605?)', Lost Plays Database, <https://www.lostplays.org/index.php?title=Richard_Whittington> [2 August 2016].

176 Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The knight of the burning pestle* (London: Nicholas Okes, for Walter Burre, 1613), sig. A2, EEBO. (USTC 3005469).

177 Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication*, p. 80.

178 Ar. I. 335. Lewis Wager, *A new enterlude, never before this tyme imprinted, entreating the life and repentaunce of Marie Magdalene not only godlie, learned and fruitefull, but also well furnished with pleasant myrth and pastime, very delectable for those which shall heare or reade the same* (London: John Charlewood, 1566), sig. A, EEBO. (USTC 506580).

An enterlude for boyes to handle and to passe tyme at christinmas (1569/70) also shows how these works encouraged performance.[179] Their smaller size and interactive nature may be why interludes have a slightly lower survival rate of 66%. Unlike almanacs though, the majority survive in multiple copies, up to thirteen in the case of *The retourne from Paernassus or the scourge of Simony*, entered in 1605.[180]

Time to Play: Music, Jigs and Games

Music books have one of the highest survival rates of any genre (83%). These were specialist items, needing specific paper and type. This would have made them more expensive to buy and more likely to be looked after. It also meant only a small number of stationers were engaged in the printing and publishing of music books. Thomas East inherited Thomas Vautrollier's music fonts before passing them onto his successor Thomas Snodham.[181] John Windet is believed to have used the musical type of Richard Day who had a privilege in psalm books, while Peter Short had Henry Denham's music fonts.[182] These books required the reader to understand musical notation, and came in multiple parts for a variety of voices and instruments. The surviving *The First set of English Madrigals to 3.4.5. and 6.* (1598) contains separate books for 'Cantus', 'Altus', 'Tenor', 'Bassus', 'Quintus' and 'Sextus'.[183] A couple of lost examples include *Songes of sundrye natures, whereof somme ar[e] Divine / some are madrigalles, and the rest spalmes and hymnes in Latin composed for 5 and 6 voyces and One for 8 voyces* (1597) and *Madrigalles of. 5. and 6. partes, apte for the Violle and voices* (1603).[184]

Music books were held under a number of privileges over the decades with only a small percentage entered in the Register. Between 1575 and 1596, the composers William Byrd and Thomas Tallis held the privilege for publishing and printing music books.[185] During this period, only one entry was made by

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179   Ar. I. 398. (USTC 527623).

180   ESTC S114069. (USTC 3002502).

181   Jeremy L. Smith, 'East, Thomas (1540–1608)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8411> [2 August 2016].

182   Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 87.

183   USTC 513809, 518900, 518901, 518902, 518904, 518903.

184   Ar. III. 93, 246. (USTC 525358, 527712).

185   Mary Chan, 'Music Books', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 127.

East. East replaced Byrd's previous printer Vautrollier in 1587 and the entry was presumably to demonstrate he was now part of the music privilege.[186] A couple of music book entries were also made during composer Thomas Morley's patent in 1598–1602.[187] A break in the monopoly between 1602 and 1612, however, saw the largest influx of music entries. These were made by John Brown and Thomas Adams, but printed by the same small group of specialist printers. None were entered during Edward Allde's monopoly after 1612.[188]

Other musical works that did not have specialist notation survive less well. None of the fourteen jigs entered can be linked to a surviving print copy. Jigs, however, do survive in manuscript form. *Francis the Gentleman*, entered in 1595, is extant in both English and German versions.[189] Jigs were comedic song-and-dance routines performed at the end of a play. They mixed together song, drama and dance, although their similarity to ballads meant that nearly all the jigs were entered by known ballad stationers, rather than play publishers.[190] This link to the stage also explains why nearly all the entries were made in the 1590s when stage plays were at their height. Four of the thirteen jigs were linked to the actor William Kemp who made the jig famous on stage: *The Thirde and last parte of KEMPES Jigge* (1591), *Master KEMPES Newe Jigge of the kitchen stuffe woman* (1595), *A plesant newe jigge of the broomeman* (1595) and *KEMPS newe Jygge betwixt, a souldiour and a Miser and Sym the clown* (1595).[191] Another entry, *PHILLIPS his gigg of the slyppers* (1595), references the actor Augustine Phillips.[192] Linking these jigs to famous actors would have boosted sales.[193] Unfortunately, by 1600, jigs had fallen out of fashion, restricted to

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186   Ar. II. 477. (USTC 518849).

187   Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England*, p. 91.

188   Arnold Hunt, 'Book Trade Patents, 1603–1640', in Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote and Alison Shell (eds.), *The Book Trade and its Customers, 1450–1900: Historical Essays for Robin Myers* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), p. 44.

189   Ar. III. 49. (USTC 528008). Charles Read Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965), p. 239.

190   See also Roger Clegg, '"A Ballad Intituled a Pleasant Newe Jigge": The Relationship Between the Broadside Ballad and the Dramatic Jig', *Huntington Library Quaterly*, 79.2 (2016), pp. 301–322.

191   Martin Butler, 'Kemp, William (*d.* in or after 1610?)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15334> [2 August 2016]. Ar. II. 600, 297, 669, III. 50. (USTC 525045, 525254, 525232, 525272).

192   Ar. II. 298. (USTC 525259). Peter Thomson, 'Phillips, Augustine (*d.* 1605)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68148> [2 August 2016].

193   Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama*, p. 109.

northern playhouses.[194] This may explain why only two were entered in the seventeenth century.[195]

It is difficult to establish from the titles alone how many games were entered in the Register. Unsurprisingly the seventeen related entries that have been identified in the Register all have a low survival rate likely as a result of their usage. Lost examples include *A merrye Devyce concerninge cardinge at yche kynd of plaie* (1579), *Gynnye game Cheste game / and foxe and geese* (1588) and *The newe and most pleasant game of the goose* (1597). Fox and Geese and Game of the Goose were both printed board games. Fox and Geese involved one fox and a row of geese 'hunting' each other across a chess board.[196] In the Game of the Goose players moved their tokens round a spiral track, avoiding penalties and aiming to reach the final square first.[197] Both games were popular throughout sixteenth-century Europe, although the oldest surviving English version of the Game of the Goose only dates from 1660.[198]

The Register also contains evidence of game paraphernalia. In 1578 Ralph Bowes and Thomas Beddingfield were granted the patent for importing playing cards into England.[199] A decade later, the Register shows Bowes gaining a licence for his own sets of playing cards.[200] One entry made on 8 January 1589 is for *The wholle sute of carved mouldes in woode, or caste in mettall, belonginge to the ould fourme of playinge cardes commonlye called the Frenche Carde, with the Jew Cisian, Dozen and all other thinges thereunto belonginge*.[201] The French Card refers to the fifty-two card deck that is used nowadays. It is suggested that 'Jew Cisian, dozen' is jeu sixième dozen, referring to the twelve face cards in a deck.[202] A set made in 1590, engraved by Augustine Ryther and decorated with maps of the counties of England, survives in the British Library.[203]

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194   Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication*, p. 73.

195   Ar. IV. 103, 447. (USTC 526256, 526901).

196   H.J.R. Murray, *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 106.

197   Adrian Seville and John Spear, 'The Game of the Goose in England-a tradition lost', *The Ephemerist*, 151 (2010), p. 9.

198   *Ibid.*, p. 9.

199   Elizabeth I, *By the Queene. Whereas we by our letters patents dated at Westminster the fourth day of June in the twentieth yeare of our raigne, did give authorite to Raffe Bowes and Thomas Beddingfield* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1588), EEBO. (USTC 515847).

200   Ar. II. 503, 512. (USTC 524814, 524815, 524847, 524848).

201   Ar. II. 512. (USTC 524847).

202   J. Payne Collier, 'The Registers of the Stationers' Company', *Notes and Queries*, 2.12.295 (1861), p. 142.

203   Arthur M. Hind, 'An Elizabethan Pack of Playing-Cards', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 13.1 (1939), p. 2.

Sellers could clearly make money from both a game book and the equipment accompanying it. Bowes made another entry in 1591 for *1 A Dozain mark 2 Item A Sizain marke 3 Item A Jew marke*, used 'to bynd up Cardes in'.[204] The surviving book *The phelosoyfers game &c* (1563) also contains a poetic advertisement for purchases linked to the game:

> All things belonging to this game
> for reason you may bye:
> At the booke shop under Bochurch,
> In Chepesyde redilye.[205]

Games were not the only non-reading items being printed. Entries show stationers also printed decorative and more utilitarian items. These are difficult to trace in the Register because of the lack of detailed information and the low levels of survival. However, they include the entries *Lappers for fustians, the one called the heades the other the Cockatrice or Dragon* (1598) consisting of 'two papers' and *Ffowre ffustian lappers, viz the Rose and crowne flourished, the Larkes, the Pullettes, and the Rose and crowne with Supporters* (1610).[206] These entries made by printer Walter Dight, who was known for woodcut pattern books, refer to papers used to wrap up a cloth made of cotton and flax.[207] Another two entries, *One Damaske beede in flowers* (1598) and *A Dammaske Board in Coulours of all sortes* (1605) may be evidence of the printing of decorative paper.[208] Damaske paper was used as wallpaper, pattern sheets, box linings and book bindings.[209] It was quick, easy to print and cheap as it was often printed on waste paper.[210] The reverse of wallpaper fragments found during the refurbishment of Christ's College, Cambridge in 1911 contained a poem commemorating the death of Henry VII, a couple of proclamations and a papal indulgence from

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204   Ar. II. 572. (USTC 524991).

205   Ar. I. 205. Ralph Lever, *The most noble, auncient, and learned playe, called the Phiosophers* [*sic*] *game invented for the honest recreation* [*sic*] *of students, and other sober persons, in passing the tediousness of tyme, to the release of their labours, and the exercise of their wittes. Set forth with such playne precepts, rules and tables, that all men with ease may understand it, and most men with pleasure practise it* (London: Rowland Hall, for James Rowbotham, 1563), sig. aviiv, EEBO. (USTC 506189).

206   Ar. III. 121, 427. (USTC 525389, 525816).

207   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 146.

208   Ar. III. 126, 306. (USTC 525393, 525676).

209   Juliet Fleming, 'Damask Papers', in *Didactic Literature in England*, p. 179.

210   *Ibid.*, p. 180.

1509, the year the college was originally founded.[211] Along with other ephemera wallpaper does not survive well. The evidence was destroyed whenever rooms were redecorated, with fragments surviving mainly as box linings.[212] It is only recently that researchers have investigated fully the best ways to find, analyse and preserve historical wallpaper.[213]

Conclusion

Before the Act of 1710, ownership of a work belonged to the stationer who entered the item in the Register or held the appropriate patent or privilege, rather than to the author.[214] Despite this, authors have been the principal focus for research on works of drama and other forms of literature in the early modern period. Books with acknowledged authors certainly have a better survival rate, which of course makes the research much easier to accomplish. Analysing entries in the Register though provides a clearer picture of the books available, demonstrating that, just as there was much more to learning than the large tomes of philosophy and rhetoric that sat on the shelves of the elite, there was more to the dramatic canon than the small elite of playwrights whose names sold plays.

Books for learning and leisure catered for a range of readers and tastes, providing both improvement and distraction. Entries in the Register extended from large, highly illustrated works on natural science and navigation to small practical everyday guides for planting seeds and organising accounts. As with religious works, rates of survival varied widely. The strong survival rates of plays and etiquette books has provided the basis for systematic research, while how-to books, ephemeral bills, jigs and instructions for games have too often been ignored. All these works, however, are important in illustrating the variety of print available for early modern readers in England.

The rise of cheaper books and smaller formats in the second century of print meant changes in audience and subjects. Books were no longer just for the elite but also aimed at merchants, craftsmen and women, with print further

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211   Alan Victor Sugden and John Ludlam Edmondson, *A History of English Wallpaper 1509–1914* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1926), p. 11.

212   Gill Saunders, '"Paper Tapestry" and "Wooden Pictures": Printed Decoration in the Domestic Interior before 1700', *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain*, p. 320.

213   Frank S. Welsh, 'Investigation, Analysis, and Authentication of Historic Wallpaper Fragments', *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 43.1 (2004), pp. 91–110.

214   David Saunders, *Authorship and Copyright* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 47–48.

boosting literacy and demand.[215] This ultimately changed the ways in which knowledge and culture was being circulated. Skills were no longer passed just orally, but also exchanged and disseminated through print, while characters from mediaeval chivalric tales reached new audiences with the emerging small booklet market.

Concentrating on the relatively broad terms of learning and leisure shows the range of uses to which print could be put and the effect this has had on survival. Heavily used works and those designed to be carried around, such as educational texts and almanacs, have low survival rates. Music books meanwhile, with their specialist production and restricted audience remain intact. The Register also illustrates the change in tastes and privileges over the decades. While the sixteenth century was filled with epitaphs and almanacs, in the seventeenth century these had been replaced with plays and bills.

Print was not only used for study and recreation, but increasingly for spreading information, decorating houses and advertising products and services. Unlike other contemporary bibliographies and catalogues the Stationers' Register is unique in providing details of highly ephemeral items such as jobbing print, wallpaper and games. Many were single-sheet items which, as shown in previous chapters, were soon destroyed unless they had quickly made their way into contemporary archives or collections. This is why for items such as the patents for losses by sea and fire, none of the items entered survive, yet there are high numbers of the very collectible broadsides illustrating monstrous births. For many of the lost items, the Register is often the only evidence that they existed at all.

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215   King, 'Introduction', p. 2.

Conclusion: Patterns of Loss and Survival

In a 'post-script to his book-binder', poet Henry Fitzgeffrey joked about the impact his choice of format would have on the fate of his book:

> Stationer) A Good Turne to thee I owe:
> Heere! I will pay thee now in *Folio*.
> But stay! Not soe: that I woo'd have thee put
> Mee in the *Folio*: or the *Quarto cut*.
> Rather contrive mee to the *Smallest size*,
> Least I bee eaten under *Pippin-pyes*.
> Or in th' *Apothicaryes* shop bee seene
> To wrap *Drugg's*: or to dry *Tobacco* in.
> First (might I chuse) I would be *bound* to wipe,
> Where he discharged last his *Glister-pipe*.[1]

Unfortunately, these fears were not unfounded and, for just under half of the 11,011 entries in the Register, this destruction was all too real.

Books were destroyed in a myriad of ways, from general wear and tear to natural disasters and man-made destruction.[2] Over time, the loss of these books, and historical documents as a whole, has presented a barrier to our understanding of the past. The Register provides a unique chance to reclaim knowledge of the English book trade and print culture in the early modern period that would otherwise be lost. Over 5,000 editions entered in the Register cannot be traced to a surviving copy. Given there are around 30,000 surviving editions listed in the ESTC for this period, this is a significant addition to our understanding of the book trade.

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1 Henry Fitzgeffrey, *Certain elegies, done by sundrie excellent wits With satyres and epigrames* (London: B. A[lsop], for Miles Partriche, 1618), sig. G4, EEBO. (USTC 3008363).
2 Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 333–334.

'Yea time hath also greatest works destroyed/wherein the learn'dest pennes have beene imployed'[3]

Unlike smaller catalogues and bibliographies which only provide a small snapshot of the book trade at a particular moment, the Register allows for comparisons to be made across years, decades and genres. Previous chapters have shown the use of the Register in exploring individual genres and categories of books. However, in the mathematical study of lost books, Jonathan Green, Frank McIntyre and Paul Needham argued that book survival should not be seen as a random event. Instead it should be understood within its relationship to other books, as the survival of one work will have an impact on others.[4] It is important to see how the pattern of loss and survival for individual genres fits in with the wider context of the book trade and printing in early modern England (Figure 5.1).

Entry and survival changed over the years and decades, with the Register providing an immediate view of the impact events and privileges had on the book trade.[5] It is clear from the Register that there was a steady increase in the
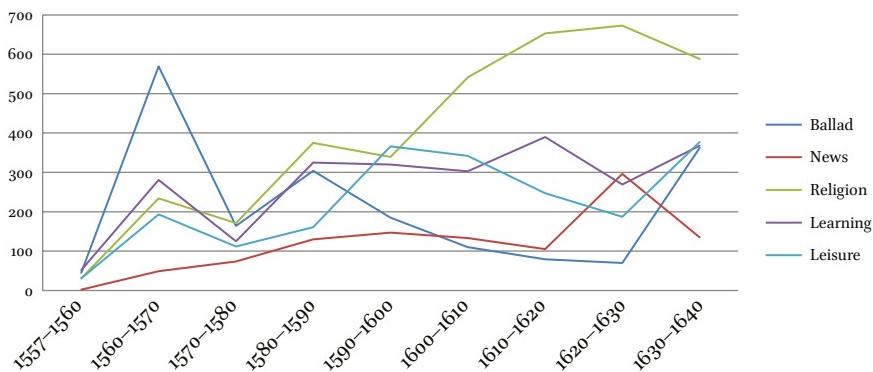
FIGURE 5.1 *Total number of entries in the Stationers' Register by genre, 1557–1640. See corresponding figure in Colour Section.*

3 Henry Adamson, *The muses threnodie, or, mirthfull mournings, on the death of Master Gall Containing varietie of pleasant poetical descriptions, morall instructions, historiall narrations, and divine observations, with the most remarkable antiquities of Scotland, especially at Perth* (Edinburgh: George Anderson, 1638), p. 33, EEBO. (USTC 3019538).

4 Jonathan Green, Frank McIntyre and Paul Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 105 (2011), p. 152.

5 For analysis on Stationers' Company Register entries in the 1590s see Alexandra Hill, 'Lost Print in England: Entries in the Stationers' Company Register, 1557–1640', in Flavia Bruni and

number of books entered and printed over the decades. The number of entries per decade went up from around 1,300 to a peak of over 1,800 in the 1630s. The slightly higher than usual increase in the 1630s was the consequence of a new licensing law in 1637 which required the inclusion of reprints in the Register. This gives us an average of 130 entries per year for the period 1557 to 1640, with a slight rise in entries in June and a dip in September. The end of the entry year in the beginning of July explains the small increase in entries in June, and the September dip was possibly the result of stationers heading to the autumn Frankfurt Fair.

There was a steady increase in survival over the centuries. While the survival rate for entries in the sixteenth century is only 42%, it is 64% in the seventeenth. The level of absence for the sixteenth century is particularly striking, though there is a similarly significant loss for the seventeenth. Ballads account for less than 4% of entries traced to a surviving copy in the sixteenth century, although they make up 27% of total entries. Also, while similar numbers of how-to manuals were made in the 1590s and 1630s, in the 1590s they only had a 43% survival rate, but by the 1630s this had risen to 79%. Survival can also lead to over-representation. A third of extant entries from the sixteenth century are religious books, yet they represent only a quarter of total entries. These quirks of survival can be moderated by the integration of lost books into studies of these literary genres.

One of the primary reasons why printed material has not survived is the simple passage of time. Books which have not been properly conserved and stored are prone to the ravages of time and susceptible to continuous hazards. This was not just an issue in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The twentieth century was a particularly destructive time for libraries across Europe.[6] It seems logical that a book entered in 1640 is more likely to survive than one entered in 1557 which has existed an extra eighty-three years. What is less obvious is why some books printed in the same year have survived better than others.

A comparison of the decades with the lowest and highest rates of survival, the 1560s and 1610s respectively, illustrates the main differences in entries

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Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 151–157.

6 For wider analysis on the impact of twentieth-century destruction in Europe see Jan L. Alessandrini, 'Lost Books of "Operation Gomorrah": Rescue, Reconstruction, and Restitution at Hamburg's Library in the Second World War', pp. 441–461; Tomasz Nastulczyk, 'Two Centuries of Looting and the Grand Nazi Book Burning. The Dispersed and Destroyed Libraries of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Historical Losses and Contemporary attempts at Reconstruction', pp. 462–468; Flavia Bruni, 'All is Not Lost. Italian Archives and Libraries in the Second World War', pp. 469–487, in *Lost Books*.
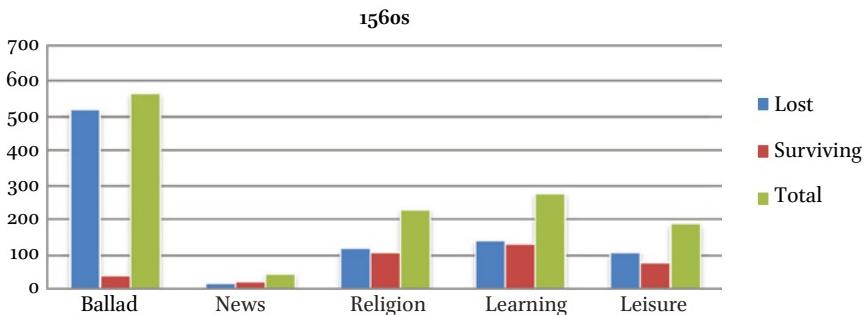
FIGURE 5.2   *Total number of titles entered in the Register in the 1560s, separated by genre.*
             See corresponding figure in Colour Section.
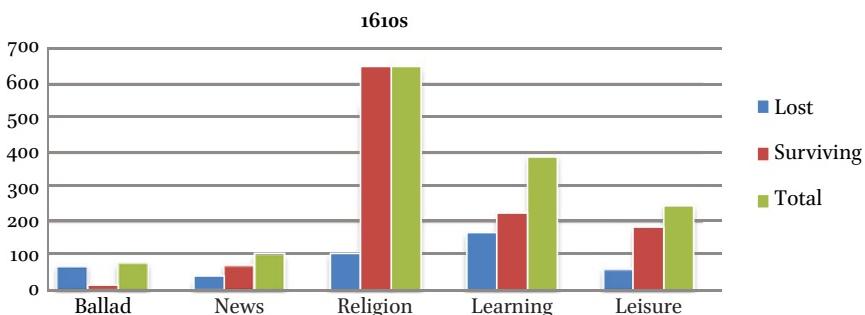
FIGURE 5.3   *Total number of titles entered in the Register in the 1610s, separated by genre.*
             See corresponding figure in Colour Section.

between the two decades and, ultimately, between these two different eras of English publishing (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). It also shows the changing market and the impact of patents, privileges and stocks on entries. The Register in the sixteenth century was dominated by the entry of ballads, whereas by the seventeenth century the dominant genre was religion. While in the 1560s ballads accounted for 43% of the total, by the 1610s this dropped to only 5%. The number of religious entries meanwhile rose from less than a fifth of entries to nearly half. Additionally, while the 1560s only had an overall survival rate of 30%, over 70% of works entered in the 1610s can be traced to extant copies.

The variations in genre may partly be attributed to changes within the book industry. The creation of monopolies and the granting of privileges had a huge impact on the entry of books in the Register. Between 1612 and 1620 ballad printing was limited to five printers, leading to fewer ballad entries. Meanwhile, the high number of privileges for traditional works of religion and a high level of imports meant that very few were entered in the 1560s. By the 1610s, there was a far greater number of sermons and a wider range of religious

materials available for stationers to enter. Also, while almanacs were entered in the earlier decade, by the 1610s they were part of a monopoly.

Changing tastes and forces outside the book market also made an impact. As Thomas Dekker wrote in his book of jests:

> Books are a strange commoditie, the estimation of them riseth and fall-eth faster then the exchange of money in the Low countries, which alters more often then the english man doth the fashion of his apparel.[7]

Books with a religious topic were particularly susceptible to the changing political, cultural and religious environment in England during the early modern period. Ballads with a religious or moral subject declined as reformers turned against the use of secular songs and tunes to communicate religious teachings.[8] Prayer books fell out of favour as extemporisation became more fashionable, and there was a clear decline in anti-Catholic works during the 1630s when battles between Laudians and Puritans played out in the religious licensing of the book trade.[9]

Different factors contributed to the loss and survival of works over the decades and the Register provides tangible evidence on the likelihood of one work surviving over another. While the overwhelming majority of sermons and music books have survived, only a small number of ballads, epitaphs and pieces of jobbing print can be traced to an existing copy. This is mainly because broadsheets were more prone to destruction, especially if they were passed around or pasted on walls. Multi-sheet books, however, were just as vulnerable if they had only a temporary use or if they were designed to be carried around. This was the case for educational works, as well as seasonal items such as Christmas carols, Almanacs and New Year's Gifts.

However there were always exceptions. Newsbooks survive well despite their temporal nature as do pamphlets on controversial topics. This is because they were inherently collectible; newsbooks were intended to be bound together and pamphlets often were. Even within the different genres and

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7   Thomas Dekker, *Jests to make you merie with the conjuring up of Cock Watt, (the walking spirit of Newgate) to tell tales. Unto which is added, the miserie of a prison, and a prisoner. And a paradox in praise of serjeants* (London: Nicholas Okes, for Nathaniel Butter, 1607), sig. A2, EEBO. (USTC 3002821).

8   Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 55.

9   Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 274; Anthony Milton, 'Licensing, Censorship, and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England', *The Historical Journal*, 41.3 (1998), p. 633.

categories, topic made a difference. More romance ballads survive than those of a more religious or moral nature and foreign newsbooks survive better than those covering news from the British Isles. Works are also more likely to survive if connected to a particular writer or special event. Seventy per cent of works by writer Thomas Churchyard survive, the majority of which are found in the same collection, including a number of ballads.

Survival was not just down to the individual book, but also to the surrounding environment. Analysis suggests there was a correlation between the decline in ballad survival and the rise of newsbooks and corantos. Northern Rebellion ballads may have survived better than other news ballads because there was less information available through other forms of print media, or, indeed, because they were gathered up to be used as evidence for the purpose of retribution against the participants. None of the four ballad entries on the execution of the gunpowder plot traitors survived, but all seven of the larger works concerning the plot and the problem of Papists survived. The extremely low survival of news ballads in the 1590s also coincided with the popularity of newsbooks, while the arrival of corantos in the 1620s dramatically reduced the number of news ballads.

There was no one reason why a book was kept or thrown away and factors such as use, format, content and authorship were all interconnected. Even the most ephemeral print could be saved by collection and chance. The seventeenth century had enthusiastic ballad and news collectors such as John Selden and Sir George Manners, although the collecting of sixteenth-century works was less consistent. This is another reason why items entered post-1600 have a higher rate of survival. Nevertheless, collections and varying survival rates within genres and across the decades disguise the prominence of certain topics and exaggerate the importance of others. Readers could buy a book of secrets full of expensive ingredients and the latest play or a cheaper how-to manual on everyday cooking and distilling and a small booklet based on mediaeval characters. What we can say with certainty is that there was better access to print and a wider variety of topics and audiences than is represented by extant texts alone.

Stationers, the Book Trade and the Register

The Register provides evidence, not just for the books that were lost but also information about the Company members who entered them. Bookseller Andrew Maunsell in his 1595 catalogue of English printed books lamented the fact that so many books 'are so dispersed out of Booke-sellers hands, that

they are not onely scarce to be found, but also quite forgotten'.[10] Maunsell's catalogue represents the books found in his shop and almost two-thirds of his entries in the Register can be traced to an existing copy. Stationers who printed and published ballads and other forms of ephemeral print are not as well represented.

Individual chapters have profiled the most prolific stationers active in particular genres. Over 800 stationers made an entry in the Register over the period 1557 to 1640. It is difficult to be precise due to the number of stationers with the same name entering simultaneously. There were multiple Harrisons whose trade dates overlapped, four of whom were called John. It is not clear how many were making entries, even with the addition of epithets such as 'the Younger', 'the Elder' or 'the Eldest'. It does, however, show how the business was passed down through the generations, or between brothers. Thomas Man's bookselling business was continued by his three sons, Paul, Jonas and Thomas junior.[11] There was also a small number of female stationers who were not prominent in any one genre or well represented by the 41% survival rate of their entries.

The most prominent stationer in the Register was Nathaniel Butter, closely followed by John Wolfe (Figure 5.4). Previous chapters have already shown why these stationers were so productive, particularly in the news industry, with both entering around 400 items. Richard Jones was the only other stationer who entered over 200 books, with another eleven entering between 100 and 200 entries each. The majority of the remaining members only entered twenty items or fewer, adding to evidence from other sources that the Company was dominated by a minority of privileged members. It also shows why there were so many arguments over privileges in the 1580s and why the English Stock was designed to provide work for poorer members of the Company.[12]

10   Andrew Maunsell, 'The Seconde Part of the Catalogue of English Printed Books', *Andrew Maunsell: The Catalogue of English Printed Books (1595)* (London: Gregg Press in association with the Archive Press, 1965), no page number.

11   'Man, Thomas Sr.', British Book Trade Index, <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=44870> [2 August 2016]; 'Man, Paul', BBTI, <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=44866> [2 August 2016]; 'Man, Jonas or Jonah', BBTI, <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=44865> [2 August 2016]; 'Man, Thomas Jr.', BBTI, <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=44869> [2 August 2016].

12   John Barnard, 'Introduction', in Maureen Bell, John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 4: 1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 12; Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 40.
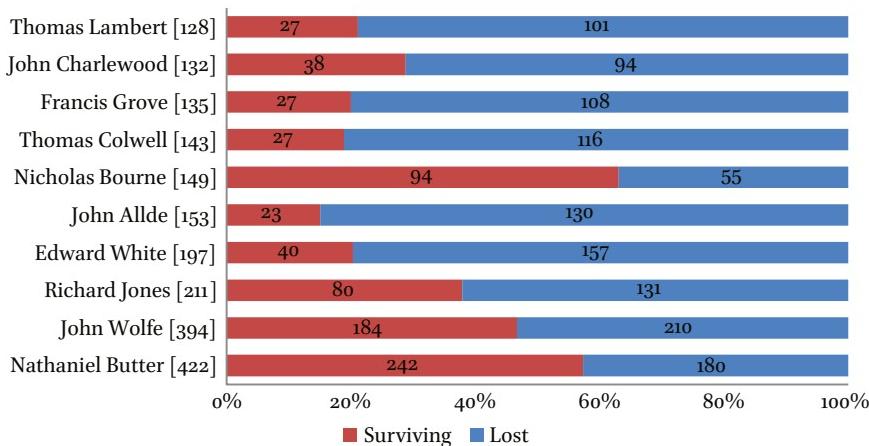
FIGURE 5.4 *Stationers with the largest number of entries separated into surviving and lost editions, 1557–1640. See corresponding figure in Colour Section.*

Of the most prominent stationers only Butter and Bourne have more entries surviving than lost. This is mainly because the entry of their corantos was so intermittent. Once again there is a strong bias towards the seventeenth century. Books entered by Bourne, who worked 1601–57, have a strong survival rate of 63%. For Allde, a printer from 1555–84, the survival rate is only 15%. The format of the publications also had a material effect as demonstrated by the fact that ballads published by Lambert and Grove have not survived well even though they both traded in the seventeenth century.

Printing was a risky business and the entries demonstrate the type of works on which stationers were willing to spend time, capital and resources. Entries reveal the different paths taken by members of the Company and the impact this had on their business and the number of extant works. Take bookseller Clement Knight and printer Simon Stafford. Both entered fifty items in the Register and, unlike many of the more prominent stationers, they only traded in years covered by the Register. However, while the majority of Knight's entries were religious texts, nearly half of Stafford's entries were ballads. This explains why 80% of Knight's entries can be traced to an existing copy but only a third of Stafford's publications survive.

Booksellers and privileges increasingly dominated the book trade and the Register. The prominent stationers entering in the seventeenth century were all booksellers: Butter, Bourne, Grove and Lambert. Of these, Lambert was the only one who did not have a monopoly for either news or ballads. As a bookseller, Knight did not have the pressures of a workshop. This probably allowed
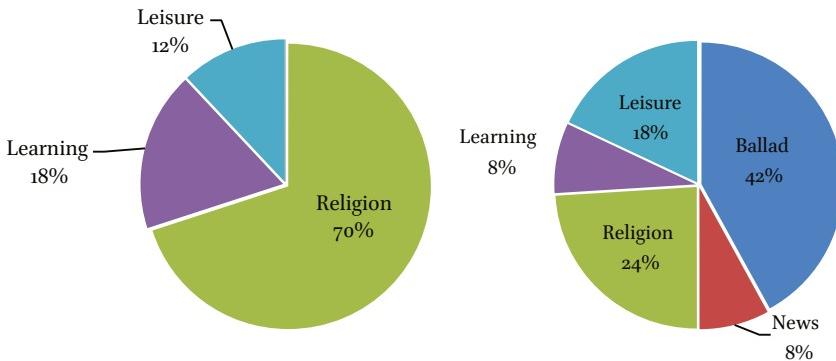
him to commission larger works whereas printer Stafford needed ballads and news to provide a quick return. As a printer, Stafford also carried out jobs entered by others particularly between 1612 and 1614 when he formed part of the monopoly of ballad printers.[13] This is why most of his ballad entries come from the previous decade. The increasing dominance of booksellers may explain why Knight's business passed onto his son while Stafford sold his printing materials to George Purslowe in 1613, making only one further entry in 1624.[14]

Knight's, and more significantly, Stafford's entries illustrate the mix of genres and topics entered by individual stationers (Figure 5.5). As the composer Thomas Campion commented in one of his books of ayres:

> That holy Hymnes with Lovers cares are knit
> Both in one Quire here, thou maist think't unfit;
> Why do'st not blame the Stationer as well,
> Who in the same Shop sets all sorts to sell?
> Divine with stiles prophane, grave shelv'd with vaine;
> And some matcht worse, yet none of him complaine.[15]

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13   Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 75.

14   'Knight, Clement', BBTI, <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=40543> [2 August 2016]; 'Stafford, Simon', BBTI, <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=65659> [2 August 2016]. Ar. IV. 119. (USTC 3011435).

15   Thomas Campion, *Two bookes of ayres The first contayning divine and morall songs: the second, light conceites of lovers. To be sung to the lute and viols, in two, three, and foure parts: or by one voice to and instrument* (London: Thomas Snodham, for Matthew Lownes, and John Browne, 1613), sig. H, EEBO. (USTC 3005506).

Only those booksellers who had monopolies or patents tended to specialise. Even then, specialisation was more a product of the seventeenth century when patents, privileges and stocks were at their strongest.

Women played a variety of roles in the English book trade and Helen Smith has shown how women worked as translators, editors and behind the scenes in their husband's workshop.[16] Widows of stationers were always considered free members of the Company, but it was not until the 1660s that the first non-widows were admitted.[17] Focusing specifically on the Register, very few women were making entries. Only eighteen female stationers are mentioned, usually indicated by the title 'mistress' or 'widow'. These women entered a number of items at a time. On 20 March 1640, Anne Griffin entered eight ballads:

> *The Subjects glory or the kings goeing to Parlament*
> *The Pretty Poore one*
> *A smooth toung and a falce heart*
> *STEVEN STOUT HEART*
> *The Soldiers health*
> *The good husbands Alphabet*
> *The unnatural Mother that buried her child alive*
> *The unnatural husband &c.*[18]

None can be traced to an extant copy. We frequently see such clumps of entries by female stationers, even though women made entries for the entire period of the Register.

The majority of entries made by women were for ballads. These could be printed and sold more quickly and cheaply than other items. As writer Henry Crosse complained:

> For is it not lamentable? that … there commeth forth no sooner a foolish toye, a leaud and bawdy ballad, but if sung in the market, by the divels quirristers, they flocke to it as crowes to a dead carkasse, buying them up as Jewels of price, be they never so ribauld, filthie, or dorbellicall, but bookes of Christianitie, of modest argument, that tend to rectifie the

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16   Helen Smith, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 90.

17   *Ibid.*, p. 95.

18   Ar. IV. 503.

judgment, lieth still in the Stationers hand as waste paper, not so much
as looked after.[19]

Sarah White was the widow of the ballad bookseller Edward White and her
ballad entries show how women often carried on the work of their deceased
husbands.[20] However, Sarah only ever entered four ballads in the Register sug-
gesting she was unable to run the business as easily as her husband which was
soon passed on to their son Edward White junior. Compare this with Anne
Griffin, widow of Edward Griffin senior. She entered fifty-five items, the major-
ity of which were not ballads. Griffin carried out printing for the Eliot's Court
Press, making her business strong enough to make riskier investments in larger
works.[21]

Women may not be well represented in the entries for a licence but they
appear frequently in assignment records. Assignments were less risky ventures
than 'new' entries as they were dealing in books that had already proved them-
selves on the market. Even though assignment records are not reliable enough
to be used to analyse lost books, they show what books were deemed good sell-
ers and the movement of rights between stationers. Even though the first as-
signment was made in 1561/62, almost 90% of assigned works were transferred
in the seventeenth century. Just under half of all assignments were religious
works.

Women were crucial in assignments, with a third of the 3,000 assignment
entries referencing a woman. This was mainly widows selling their deceased
husband's rights to other members of the Company. However, not all the wom-
en immediately sold their husband's rights. Just under 20% of the entries were
women ensuring that they could use the rights for themselves. Four entries by
Joan Broom on 12 April 1597 were specifically for her 'to enjoy Duringe her wid-
owehood', and she had thirteen licences for works at the time of her death.[22]
Elizabeth Trundle kept the rights to thirty books until her death in 1629.[23] The
transfer of rights between women was even rarer. Four entries were assigned

19   Henry Crosse, *Vertues common-wealth: or The high-way to honour Wherin is discovered,*
      that although by the disguised craft of this age, vice and hypocrisie may be concealed: yet
      by tyme (the trial of truth) it is most plainly revealed (London: Thomas Creede, for John
      Newbery, 1603), sig. O4, EEBO. (USTC 3001231).

20   'White, Sarah', BBTI, <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=75044> [2 August
      2016].

21   'Griffin, Anne', BBTI, <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=28986> [2 August
      2016].

22   Ar. III. 82, 191.

23   Ar. IV. 213.

from Hannah Barrett to Margaret Hodgets in 1625 while Anne Boler acquired a collection of sermons from Joan Greene in 1637.[24]

Entries and assignments concerning women reveal the relationships between the close knit members of the Company. Over half of the entries made by female stationers included an additional male member of the Company. This collaboration spread the risk of printing a work. Restrictions on the number of printers and presses also led to stationers marrying amongst themselves. This was particularly important for widows as they could only keep the rights to their husband's books if they remarried within the trade.[25] Joan Kingston's remarriages explain how John Kingston's books passed to fellow stationer George Robinson and then to printer Thomas Orwin.[26] Other examples of family ties from assignment records include Thomas Purfoote inheriting his father's rights, Henry Overton marrying his master's widow and Richard Oulton gaining works from his mother-in-law.[27]

The print industry in England operated as a tightly controlled monopoly. However, even within the monopoly, there was plenty of competition between stationers. Entries show the type of techniques used by stationers to make the most out of a topic. This could be with multiple parts, continuing debates back and forth and the entering of newsbooks and ballads on the same event. News entries provide extra details such as which stationers had access to what information from the continent, the time it took for the news to reach the stationers and the importance of speed for news on foreign conflicts. The Register also illustrates how the use of a popular actor's name on a jig, or the word 'new' on ballads, was used as an attempt to boost sales.

Furthermore, the relative decline in book prices and increases in literacy offered new audiences to target and provided new ways to transmit ideas and texts. Books appealed to consumers with a wide range of tastes, status' and reading abilities, and intersected oral, visual and literate culture. The period saw the rise of the sermon and the playbook, as well as the move towards more cheap print in areas of both learning and leisure. Some genres were less fortunate, with the decline of broadsheet epitaphs and stand-alone woodcut images. The overwhelming majority of works were printed in the English vernacular, although entries show books teaching multiple languages, while some news items were printed separately in both English and the original language.

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24   Ar. IV. 147, 393.

25   Smith, *'Grossly Material Things'*, p. 95.

26   'Robinson, George', BBTI, <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=58898> [2 August 2016]. Ar. II. 630.

27   Ar. III. 576, IV. 235, 507.

The Register shows that there was no 'ideal' stationer, but a range of men and women entering books and filling a variety of functions; from the most prominent and privileged publishers and booksellers to the poorest printers struggling to keep afloat. The lost titles provide valuable evidence for those stationers, both men and women, who could not rely on privileges and patents. It shows the impact of privileges, patents and stocks on the types of books stationers could enter, and how stationers adapted to changing conditions and events and responded to the demands of readers and consumers. Finally, looking at female stationers shows how limits to the number of printers and presses led to strong family connections and an appreciation of the value of a licence as a conferrable asset.

Gone, but Not Forgotten

The main focus of this book has been on the analysis of works entered in the Stationers' Company Register. Now I want to end with a closer look at the wider implications of adding lost books to our current knowledge of early modern print in England.

Figure 5.6 shows the percentage of lost titles entered in the Register compared with the number of imprints of surviving works listed in the ESTC. The previously lost titles illustrate where the gaps in our knowledge are most acute. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that, even with data from the Register, the figure still underrepresents the number of books that have been lost. The
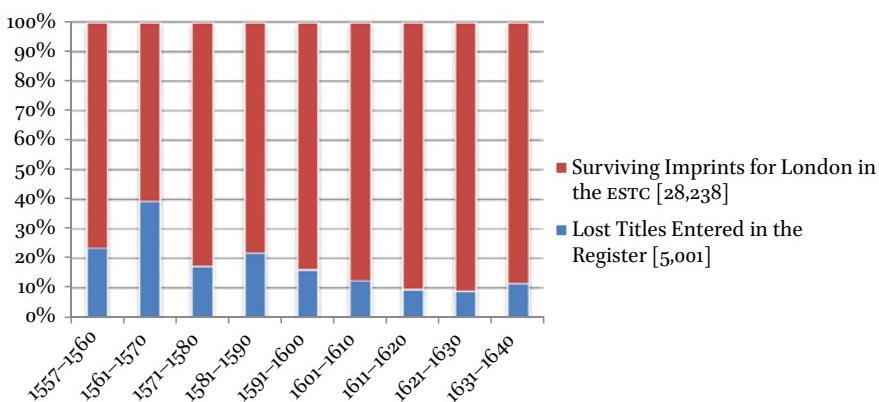
FIGURE 5.6 *Percentage of lost titles in the Register compared to the number of surviving imprints for London in the ESTC, 1557–1640. See corresponding figure in Colour Section.*

ESTC contains data on surviving reprints, illegal books, official print and works held under patent or privilege, information which was not entered in the Register. Using the average survival rate of 45% from my calculations on the number of imprints in the ESTC, there are potentially over 20,000 lost titles to be found from the period 1557 to 1640. If the average print run was around 1,000 copies, the number of lost copies equates to 20,000,000 printed items. This is an astonishing number of lost items.

I am not the first and I will certainly not be the last researcher to argue the benefits of searching for evidence of lost books. While lost titles for the Register provide records for a fifth of these editions, there are clearly more that need to be recovered. This can be achieved by investigating other catalogues, inventories and advertisements as well as inferring data from edition and serial numbers. There is also more work to be done finding surviving editions in libraries and archives. Hopefully, this book has provided a useful working methodology for future studies and revealed the benefits of using digital resources and methods.

More than anything else, my analysis of the entries in the Stationers' Register has revealed how complicated survival is as an issue. Even average survival rates cannot provide the full picture. Although nearly the same number of How-to manuals and items of jobbing print are entered into the Register during the 1610s, 83% of manual titles can be traced to a surviving copy, but only 2% of the jobbing print entries. This leads to certain authors, genres and stationers being overrepresented in studies of the early modern period. Survival is not a simple concept and this needs to be taken into account more when using historical sources.

Printing and the Register Post-1640

> The late decay of the Stationers (chiefly brought upon them by want of due and Politick regulation) has been an occasion of emboldening Printers to run into enormious disorders, and in the like manner the same disorders have been a further occasion of bringing a decay upon the Company.[28]

The period 1557 to 1640 saw the Stationers Company at its most powerful. However, the Company's influence over the book trade and printing in England

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28   Stationers' Company, *To the High Court of Parliament: the humble remonstrance of the Company of Stationers, London* (London: s.n., 1643), EEBO. (USTC 3029423).

was not to last. Even though the Company maintained its monopoly and the Register, after the lapse of the Star Chamber in 1641 it lost much of its authority.[29] In a petition by the stationers to Parliament in 1643, the Company complained that the validity of the copy licences in the Register was being eroded and that the continuing lack of control would only further damage both the government and the Company.[30] Despite this, in the decades during and following the Civil Wars there were a number of Licensing Acts that incrementally weakened the power of the stationers.[31] This culminated in the Copyright Act of 1710 which moved ownership of texts from the stationers to the authors.[32]

Weakening regulation and the 'unparall'd proceedings' of the 1640s also led to a significant rise in the number of printed items.[33] The biggest increase came in the amount of pamphlets, news and satire available. The previous embargo on domestic news was disrupted leading to a huge upsurge in newsbooks covering the events of the Civil Wars. These works were highly opinionated forms of propaganda with different titles providing a range of royalist and parliamentarian perspectives.[34] This rise in smaller publications is one of the reasons for the apparent explosion in print during the 1640s, much of which was no longer deemed necessary to be entered in the Register.[35] Thanks to this surge in the number of printed items and the rise in collecting there is much more extant data for the later seventeenth century than for the previous decades.

For too long studies on the period 1557–1640 have relied solely on the vagaries of survival. Analysis of the Register demonstrates that, given the loss of

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29   Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 226.

30   Stationers' Company, 'To the High Court of Parliament'.

31   Michael Treadwell, 'The Stationers and the Printing Acts at the End of the Seventeenth Century', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 771.

32   David Saunders, *Authorship and Copyright* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 47–48.

33   S. Sheppard (ed.), *Mercurius Elencticus. Communictating the unparallell'd proceedings at Westminster, the head-quarters, and other places; discovering their designes, reproving their crimes, and advising the kingdome* [*Issue 6*] (London: [s. n.], 1647), sig. F, EEBO. (USTC 3036047).

34   Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 13.

35   D.F. McKenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557–1700: Constraints on the London Book Trades', in Bell, Barnard and McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 561, p. 565.

so many items, extant data alone cannot fully represent the corpus of books printed, purchased and passed around in England. It would be naïve to suggest that the Register provided a definitive record of all lost books printed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century. Nevertheless, this unique resource has made the recovery of lost items far more feasible than for any other part of the print world of early modern Europe.

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Anon, *A briefe discourse of the most haynous and traytorlike fact of Thomas Appeltree for which hee should have suffred death on Tuisday the one and twentieth of Julie last: wherein is set downe his confession. Whereunto is annexed, the report of the message sent to the place of execution from hir most excellent Majestie, by the right honourable Sir Christopher Hatton Knight, vizchaberlain to hir highnesse* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1579), EEBO. (USTC 508677).

Anon, *A reply with the occasion thereof, to a late rayling, lying, reproachful and blasphemous libel, of the papists set upon postes, and also in Paules church in London: against god, his truth, his anointed, the whole state, and universall church of Christ, with a cattolog, of the vile termes therein conteined. Also, a briefe reprehension, of a most vile facte,* (*more lately*) *which though more private, yet little lesse contemptuous, and don also, in S. Paules church London* (London: Hugh Singleton, 1579), EEBO. (USTC 508708).

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Anon, *The [first-] second part of the Marchants daughter of Bristow To the tune of The Maidens joy* (London: Edward Allde, for William Blackwall, 1600), EEBO. (USTC 514546).

Anon, *A true and large discourse of the voyage of the whole fleete of ships set forth the 20. of Aprill 1601. by the Governours and assistants of the East Indian marchants in Lon-don, to the East Indies Wherein is set downe the order and manner of their traffique, the description of the countries, the nature of the people and their language, with the names of all the men dead in the voyage* (London: Richard Read, for Thomas Thorp, sold by William Aspley, 1603), EEBO. (USTC 3001198).

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Anon, *I tell you, John Jarret, you'l breake: Or, John Jarrets wives counsel to her husband, to have care to his estate in this hard time, lest he turne Bankerout* (London: Miles Flesher, for Francis Grove, 1630), EEBO. (USTC 3015082).

Anon, *November 29. Numb. 50. The continuation of our forraine intelligence since the 22. to this present moneth. The first part. Contayning amongst the rest these particulars following: the taking of the citie Great Glogaw in Silesia and Eger, on the fronter of Bohemia: with the expulsion of the Imperialists out of Silesia, and both the upper and lower Lusatia. He taking of the Bishoprickes of Patterborn and Corvay by the Land-grave of Hessen, with his summoning of all the Lords and states of Westphalia, to render themselves under his Majestie of Sweden. Severall late passages of the King of Sweden his proceedings neere Mentz, and of his armies in other parts. The taking of many townes more, and the yeelding of the cities of Norimberg and Vim, with divers others unto his Majestie of Sweden* (London: John Dawson, for Nathaniel Butter, and Nicholas Bourne, 1631), EEBO. (USTC 3015184).

Anon, *A lamentable list of certaine hideous, frightfull, and prodigious signes, which have bin seene in the aire, earth and waters, at severall times for these 18. yeares last past, to this present: that is to say, anno. 1618. untill this instant. anno. 1638. in Germany, and other kingdoms and provinces adjacent; which ought to be so many severall warnings to our kingdome, as to the said empire. To the tune of aime not to high* (London: John Okes, for Thomas Lambert, 1638), EEBO. (USTC 3019604).

Anon, *A true relation of those sad and lamentable accidents, which happened in and about the parish church of Withycombe in the Dartmoores, in Devonshire, on Sunday*

the 21. of October last, 1638 (London: George Miller, for Raphe Harford, 1638), EEBO. (USTC 3019700).

Anon, *Answeres to certaine novations desired by some to be embraced by the reformed church some defend one part, others another part of these novations: in this treatise their chief objections are turned into questions* (Holland: s.n., 1638), EEBO. (USTC 3019900).

Anon, *Satyrae seriae, or, The Secrets of things written in morall and politicke observations* (London: John Okes, for Abel Roper, 1640), EEBO. (USTC 3021240).

Anon, *The Severall places where you may hear news,* (London: s.n., 1640), EEBO. (USTC 3021204).

Anon, *A Catalogue containing variety of English books in divinity, history, travels, romances, poetry &c. which will be exposed to sale by way of auction at Mr Bridges Coffee-house in Popes-Head Alley in Cornhill, on Monday the 20th of this instant December, 1686* (London: s.n., 1686), EEBO.

Anon, *A catalogue of considerable books, Latin and English, in all volumes With a curious collection of all the valuable pamphlets from 1638. to the years 1660. Collected by an eminent minister of state, in 32 several volumes, in quarto. Will be sold by auction on Monday the 2d of December, 1689. at Tom's Coffe-House, in Pope's-Head-Alley, over against the Royal-Exchange, Cornhil. The sale beginning precisely at three of the clock in the afternoon* (London: s.n., 1689), EEBO.

Anon, *Maudlin, The Merchant's Daughter of Bristol* (S.l.: s.n., 1750?), EBBA 31082.

Anon, 'Kitt Hath Lost Her Key', in *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company of Works Entered for Publication Between the Years 1557 and 1570*, ed. J. Payne Collier (London: Printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1848), pp. 55–56.

Armstrong, Archie, *A banquet of Jeasts. Or Change of cheare Being a collection of moderne jests. Witty jeeres. Pleasant taunts. Merry tales* (London: for Richard Royston, 1630), EEBO. (USTC 3014970).

Arthus, Gotthard and Augustine Spalding, *Dialogues in the English and Malaiane languages: or, Certaine common forms of speech, first written in Latin, Malaian, and Madagascar tongues, by the diligence and painfull endevour of Master Gotardus Arthusius, a Dantisker, and now faithfully translated into the English tongue by Augustine Spalding Merchant, for their sakes, who happily shall hereafter undertake a voyage to the East-Indies* (London: Felix Kingston, for William Welby, 1614), EEBO. (USTC 3006312).

Barker, Christopher, 'Christopher Barker's Report in December 1582, on the Printing Patents of 1558–1582' (1582), in Ar. I. 114–116, 144.

Barnes, Joseph, *Speeches delivered to Her Majestie this last progresse at the Right Honorable the Lady Russels, at Bissam, the Right Honorable the Lorde Chandos at Sudley, at the Right Honorable the Lord Norris, at Ricorte* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1592), EEBO. (USTC 512054).

Barrington Family Letters, 1628–1632, ed. Arthur Searle (London: Royal Historical Society, 1983).

Bate, John, *The mysteryes of nature, and art conteined in foure severall tretises the first pf water works the second of fyer works, the third of drawing, colouring, painting, and engraving, the fourth of divers experiments, as well serviceable as delightful* (London: Thomas Harper, for Ralph Mabb, 1634), EEBO. (USTC 3017186).

Beaumont, Francis and John Fletcher, *The knight of the burning pestle* (London: Nicholas Okes, for Walter Burre, 1613), EEBO. (USTC 3005469).

Birch, William, *The complaint of a sinner, vexed with paine, desiring the joye, that ever shall remayne After W.E. moralized* (London: Alexander Lacy, for Richard Applow, 1563), EEBA 32087. (USTC 506113).

Bowes, William, *Playing card map of England and Wales and of counties of East England* (1590) [British Library Maps C.44.d.90].

Brathwaite, Richard, *Whimzies: or, a new cast of characters* (London: Felix Kingston, sold by Ambrose Ritherdon, 1631), EEBO. (USTC 3015405).

Breton, Nicholas, *Wits trenchmour in a conference had betwixt a scholler and an angler* (London: James Roberts, for Nicholas Ling, 1597), EEBO. (USTC 513331).

Broughton, Hugh, *Our Lord his line of fathers from Adam, and his predecessours in the kingdome from Saloman to Jechonias, in whome ended the house: and from Abiud to Joseph the husband of Marie: with fit notation of their names* (London: Gabriel Simpson, and William White, 1595), EEBO. (USTC 512725).

Butter, Nathaniel and Nicholas Bourne, *September. 2. Numb. 37. The continuation of our forraine avisoes, from the 20. of the last moneth to this present Containing the confirmation of the newes published the 20th of August, concerning the severall encounters betwixt the King of Sweden and Generall Tilly, with the three dayes welcome given him, upon his project of nailing the K. of Sweden ordnance. An apologie of the King of Swedens (formerly published in the Dutch) not unfit to give satisfaction to the world, concerning his not releeving of the citie Magdenburgh, wherein you shall finde a briefe relation of the Kings proceeding ever since hee began the warre in Germanie. The landing of the L. Generall, the Marquis Hamilton at Stralsunt, with all his men sound and well* (London: for Nathaniel Butter, and Nicholas Bourne, 1631), EEBO. (USTC 3015490).

Byrd, William, *Psalmes, sonets, & songs of sadness and pietie, made into musicke of five parts whereof, some of them going abroad among divers, in untrue copies, are here truly corrected, and th'other being songs very rare and newly composed, are here published, for the recreation of all such as delight in musicke* (London: Thomas East, the assign of William Byrd, 1588), EEBO. (USTC 518845).

Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Edward VI. Vol. V. With Appendices A.D. 1547–1553 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926).

Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office Elizabeth Volume I 1558–1560 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939).

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I. 1603–1610, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1857).

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I. 1611–1618, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1858).

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1631–1633, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, ed. John Bruce (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1862).

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1634–1635, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, ed. John Bruce (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1864).

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles I. 1637–1638. Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, ed. John Bruce (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1869).

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1638–1639, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, eds. John Bruce and William Douglas Hamilton (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1871).

Camerarius, Joachim, [*The history of strange wonders*] (London: Rowland Hall, 1561), EEBO. (USTC 505859).

Campion, Thomas, *Two bookes of ayres The first contayning divine and morall songs: the second, light conceites of lovers. To be sung to the lute and viols, in two, three, and foure parts: or by one voice to and instrument* (London: Thomas Snodham, for Matthew Lownes, and John Browne, 1613), EEBO. (USTC 3005506).

Cardano, Girolamo, *Cardanus comforte translated into Englishe. And published by commaundement of the right honourable the Earle of Oxenford* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1573), EEBO. (USTC 507573).

Cawdry, Robert, *A shorte and fruitefull treatise, of the profite and necessitie of catechising: that is, of instructing the youth, and ignorant persons in the principles and groundes of christian religion* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1580), EEBO. (USTC 508955).

Chapman, John, *A most true report of the myraculous moving and sinking of a plot of ground, about nine acres, at Westram in Kent, which began the 18. of December, and so continued till the 29. of the same moneth* (London: Thomas Creede, 1596), EEBO. (USTC 513053).

Charles I, *An abstract of His Majesties letters patents graunted unto Thomas Symcocke* (London: Thomas Symcock, 1628), EEBO. (USTC 3013557).

Chettle, Henry, *Kind-harts dreame Conteining five apparitions, with their invectives against abuses raigning. Delivered by severall ghosts unto him to be publish, after Piers*

Penilesse post had refused the carriage. Invita invidiae (London: John Wolfe, for William Wright, 1593), EEBO. (USTC 512345).

Chibauld, William, *A cordiall of comfort To preserve the heart, from fainting with griefe or feare: for our friends, or our owne visitation, by the plague. Also a thankes-giving to almightie God, for staying the visitation in London, and the suburbs thereof. Both which may be of use to Christians in other places, that are cleere, visited, or recovered* (London: William Jones, for Nicholas Bourne, and Edward Brewster, 1625), EEBO. (USTC 3012429).

Church of England, *Articles to be enquired of, by the Church Wardens and Swornemen within the Archdeaconrie of Middlesex And the trueth thereof to be by them upon their oaths certainely presented to M. Doctor Squier Archdeacon there or to his officialles, with particular aunsweare to everie article* ([London]: John Wolfe, 1582), EEBO. (USTC 509505).

Church of England, *An order of prayer and thanksgiving, for the preservation of her Majestie and the realme, from the traitorous and bloodie practises of the Pope, and his adherents to be used at times appointed in the preface* (London: Christopher Barker, 1586), EEBO. (USTC 510518).

Churchyard, Thomas, *A pleasaunte laborinth called Churchyardes chance framed on fancies, uttered with verses, and writte[n] to give solace to every well disposed mynde: wherein notwithstanding are many heavie epitaphs, sad and sorowfull discourses and sutche a multitude of other honest pastymes for the season (and passages of witte) that the reader therein maie thinke his tyme well bestowed* (London: John Kingston, 1580), EEBO. (USTC 509017).

Churchyard, Thomas, *Churchyard's Challenge* (London: [Edward Allde, for] John Wolfe, 1593), EEBO. (USTC 512326).

Clarke, John, *The trumpet of Apollo sounding out the sweete blast of recoverie, in divers dangerous and desperate diseases* (London: Peter Short, 1602), EEBO. (USTC 3000835).

Cornwallis, William, *Essayes* (London: Simon Stafford, and Richard Read, for Edmund Matts, 1600–1601), EEBO. (USTC 3000472).

Crosse, Henry, *Vertues common-wealth: or The high-way to honour Wherin is discovered, that although by the disguised craft of this age, vice and hypocrisie may be concealed: yet by tyme (the trial of truth) it is most plainly revealed* (London: Thomas Creede, for John Newbery, 1603), EEBO. (USTC 3001231).

Davies, John, *A scourge for paper-persecutors. Or Papers complaint, compil'd in ruthful rimes, against the paper-spoylers of these times. By I.D. With a continu'd just inquisition of the same subject, fit for this season. Against paper-persecutors. By. A.H.* (London: for Henry Holland, and George Gibbes, 1625), EEBO. (USTC 3012143).

de Médicis, Marie, Savoie Louis XIII, Victor-Ame, *Newes out of France: concerning great troubles likely to ensue, by occasion of the departure of the Queene Mother from Blois*

and the causes thereof. Contayned in the letters of the said Queene Mother, unto her sonne the French King, and his answere thereunto; manifesting the motives of his taking up armes, and against whom he entends to imploy them. Dated the 17. of March, 1619. With foure other letters of the Queene Mother, to the Lord Chancelor, Keeper of the Seales; President Jannin, and Duke de Mayenne, and the Prince of Pyemont his letter unto her, concerning these affaires. Faithfully translated, according to the French copie (London: Thomas Snodham, for Nathaniel Newbery, 1619), EEBO. (USTC 3008389).

Dekker, Thomas, *Jests to make you merie with the conjuring up of Cock Watt,* (*the walking spirit of Newgate*) *to tell tales. Unto which is added, the miserie of a prison, and a prisoner. And a paradox in praise of serjeants* (London: Nicholas Okes, for Nathaniel Butter, 1607), EEBO. (USTC 3002821).

Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S., Author of the 'Sylva'. To Which is Subjoined the Private Correspondence Between King Charles I and Sir Edward Nicholas, and Between Sir Edward Hyde, Afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Richard Browne Volume II, ed. William Bray (London: Henry Colburn, 1850).

The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A Selection, ed. Robert Latham (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

Early English Books On-Line <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [1 July 2016].

Egerton, Stephen, *A briefe method of catechising: wherein are handled these foure points. 1. How miserable all men are by nature. 2. What remedy God hath appointed for their deliverance. 3. How they must live that are delivered. 4. What helps they must use to that end. : The same pointes are also corrected, and a forme of examining communicants added* (London: Richard Field, for Robert Dexter, 1597), EEBO. (USTC 513365).

Elderton, William, *The panges of love and lovers fittes* (London: Richard Lant, 1559), EBBA 32224. (USTC 505568).

Elderton, William, *A proper new balad in praise of my ladie marques, whose death is bewailed, to the tune of new lusty gallant* (London: Thomas Colwell, 1569), EEBO. (USTC 506910).

Elizabeth I, 'Announcing Injunctions for Religion' (1559), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume II The Later Tudors* (*1553–1587*), eds. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (London: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 117–132.

Elizabeth I, 'Prohibiting Seditious Books in Matters of Religion' (1569), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume II*, pp. 312–313.

Elizabeth I, 'Ordering Arrest for Circulating Seditious Books and Bulls' (1570a), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume II*, pp. 341–343.

Elizabeth I, 'Ordering Discovery of Persons Bringing in Seditious Books and Writings' (1570b), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume II*, pp. 347–348.

Elizabeth I, 'Ordering Destruction of Seditious Books' (1573), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume II*, pp. 376–379.

Elizabeth I, 'Adjourning Michaelmas Term Because of Plague' (1574), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume II*, p. 386.

Elizabeth I, *By the Queene. Whereas we by our letters patents dated at Westminster the fourth day of June in the twentieth yeare of our raigne, did give authorite to Raffe Bowes and Thomas Beddingfield* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1588), EEBO. (USTC 515847).

Elizabeth I, 'Ordering Destruction of Marprelate Publications' (1589), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume III The Later Tudors* (*1588–1603*), eds. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (London: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 34–35.

English Broadside Ballad Archive <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/> [1 July 2016].

English Short-Title Catalogue <http://estc.bl.uk/> [1 July 2016].

Featley, Daniel, *Cygnea cantio: or, Learned decisions, and most prudent and pious directions for students in divinitie; delivered by our late soveraigne of happie memorie, king James, at White Hall a few weekes before his death* (London: Miles Flesher, for Robert Milbourne, 1629), EEBO. (USTC 3014396).

Fitzgeffrey, Henry, *Certain elegies, done by sundrie excellent wits With satyres and epigrames* (London: B. A[lsop], for Miles Partriche, 1618), EEBO. (USTC 3008363).

Fletcher, John, *The night-walker, or the little theife A comedy, as it was presented by her Majesties Servants, at the Private House in Drury Lane* (London: Thomas Cotes, for Andrew Crooke, and William Cooke, 1640), EEBO. (USTC 3020904).

Gee, John, *The foot out of the snare with a detection of sundry late practices and impostures of the priests and Jesuits in England, whereunto is added a catalogue of such books as in this authors knowledge have been vented within two years last past in London by the priests and their agents* (London: Humphrey Lownes, for Robert Milbourne, 1624), EEBO. (USTC 3011651).

Glapthorne, Henry, *Wit in a constable A comedy written 1639. The author Henry Glapthorne. And now printed as it was lately acted at the Cock-pit in Drury lane, by their Majesties Servants, with good allowance* (London: Jo. Okes, for F[rancis] C[onstable] 1640), EEBO. (USTC 3021007).

Goodcole, Henry, *The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer a witch late of Edmonton, her conviction and condemnation and death. Together with the relation of the Divels accesse to her, and their conference together* (London: Augustine Matthews, for William Butler, 1621), EEBO. (USTC 3009688).

Graunt, John, *Natural and political observations mentioned in a following index, and made upon the bills of mortality by John Graunt; with reference to the government, religion, trade, growth, ayre, diseases, and the several changes of the said city* (London: Tho. Roycroft, for John Martin, James Allestry, and Tho. Dicas, 1662), EEBO.

Hatton, Sir Christopher, *A true report of the most gratious and mercifull message of hir most excellent Majestie, sent by the righte honourable Sir Christopher Hatton knight, vizchamberlaine, & one of hir Highnesse most honourable privie counsel, to the place*

where Thomas Appeltree should have suffered for his most traitorlike action (London: Henry Bynneman, 1579), EEBO. (USTC 508780).

Hawkins, Francis, *Youths behaviour, or, Decency in conversation amongst men composed in French by grave persons for the use and benefit of their youth; now newly turned into English by Francis Hawkins* (London: W. Wilson, for W. Lee, 1646), EEBO. (USTC 3032912).

Henry IV, *Le vray discours de la victorie merveilleuse obtenue par le roy de France et de Navarre Henry 4. En la bataile donnée contré les rebelles liguès pres le Bourg d'Yury en la plaine S. André, le 14. de Mars l'an 1590. Dressé et envoyé par decapar un des principaux officers de la maisté* (London: Thomas Orwin, pour Thomas Man, 1590), EEBO. (USTC 47296).

Hodson, Phineas, *The last sermon preached before his Majesties funerals at Denmark house: on Tuesday the third of May* (London: Miles Flesher, for Hannah Barret, 1625), EEBO. (USTC 3011930).

Hornby, William, *Hornbyes hornbook. Judge not too rashly, till through all you looke; if nothing then doth please you, burne the booke* (London: Augustine Matthews, for Thomas Bayly, 1622), EEBO. (USTC 3010176).

Hubrigh, Joachim, *An almanacke, and prognostication, for the yeare of our Lorde God. 1565. Serving for all Europia* [*sic*]*, and also most necessary for all students, marchantes, mariners and travellers, both by sea, and lande* ([London]: Henry Denham, for William Pickering, 1565), EEBO. (USTC 515587).

Hutton, Luke, *Luke Huttons lamentation which he wrote the day before his death, being comndemned to be hanged at Yorke this last assises for his robberies and trepasses committed. To the tune of Wandering and wavering* (London: Thomas Millington, 1598), EEBO. (USTC 513718).

James I, 'Grant of James I. to the Stationers' Company of Primers, Psalters, Almanacks and Prognostications for ever' (1603), in Ar. III. 42–44.

James I, *An abstract of His Majesties letters patents granted, unto Roger Wood and Thomas Symcocke, for the sole printing of paper and parchment on the one side* (London: Edward Allde, assign of Roger Wood, and Thomas Symcock, 1620), EEBO. (USTC 3004943).

James I, *By the King. A Proclamation against excesse of lavish and licentious speech of matters of state* (London: Bonham Norton, and John Bill, 1621), EEBO. (USTC 3009830).

James I, *An abstract of His Majesties letters patents graunted unto Roger Wood and Thomas Symcocke* (London: Roger Wood, and Thomas Symcock, 1623), EEBO. (USTC 3011045).

Johnson, Fabian, *True intelligence sent from a gentleman of account Concerning, the estate of the English forces now in Fraunce, under the conduct of the Right Honourable*

the Earle of Essex. Particularly expressing what hath beene done since his departure from England, until the second of September last (London: John Wolfe, for Thomas Nelson, 1591), EEBO. (USTC 511863).

Johnson, Thomas, *A lokinge glasse for eche estate, wherin to weve the fickle fate* (London: Abel Jeffes, sold by William Barley, 1595), EEBO. (USTC 512879).

Johnson, Thomas, *A new booke of new conceits with a number of novelties annexed thereunto. Whereof some be profitable, some necessary, some strange, none hurtful, and all delectable* (London: Elizabeth Allde, for Edward Wright, and Cuthbert Wright, 1630a), EEBO. (USTC 3014614).

Johnson, Thomas, *Dainty conceits with a number of rare and witty inventions, never before printed. Made and Invented for honest recreation, to passe away idle hours* (London: Elizabeth Allde, for Henry Gosson, and Francis Coules, 1630b), EEBO. (USTC 3015097).

Jonson, Ben, *The Alchemist* (London: Thomas Snodham, for Walter Burre, sold by John Stepneth, 1612), EEBO. (USTC 3005236).

Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James First Keeper of the Bodleian Library, ed. G.W. Wheeler, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926).

Lever, Ralph, *The most noble, auncient, and learned playe, called the Phiosophers* [*sic*] *game invented for the honest recreation* [*sic*] *of students, and other sober persons, in passing the tediousness of tyme, to the release of their labours, and the exercise of their wittes. Set forth with such playne precepts, rules and tables, that all men with ease may understand it, and most men with pleasure practise it* (London: Rowland Hall, for James Rowbotham, 1523), EEBO. (USTC 506189).

Linaker, Robert, *A short catechisme, or, A cordiall preservative for little children, against the infection of popery, and atheism to be taught by parents, in private families* (London: for William Leake, 1610), EEBO. (USTC 3004277).

Lovell, Thomas, *A dialogue between custom and veritie concerning the use and abuse of dauncing and minstrelsie* (London: John Allde, 1581), EEBO. (USTC 509342).

Low, Henry, *A new almanacke* [*and*] *prognostication, for the yeare of our Lorde God. 1569. Practised in Salesbury, neare to the close gate by Maister Henry Low* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1569), EEBO. (USTC 506977).

Magini, Giovanni Antonio, *A strange and wonderfull prognostication: or rather, prenomination of those accidents which shall, or at least are likely to happen as may be conjectured by the rules and directions of astrology, in this year 1624* (London: E. Allde, for Nathaniel Butter, 1624), EEBO. (USTC 3011453).

The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle Vol. I (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888).

Markham, Gervase, *Cheape and good husbandry for the well-ordering of all beasts, and fowles, and for the general cure of their disease Contaynng the natures, breeding, choyse, use, feeding, and curing of the diseases of all manner of cattell, as horse, oxe,*

cow, sheeps, goates, swine, and tame-conies (London: Thomas Snodham, for Roger Jackson, 1614), EEBO. (USTC 3006136).

Marprelate, Martin pseud., *Oh read over D. John Bridges, for it is a worthy worke: or an epitome of the fyrste booke, of that right worshipfull volume, written against the puritans, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, John Bridges, presbyter, priest or elder, doctor of divillitie, and Deane of Sarum Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to answere M. Doctor, they must needs say something that hath bene spoken* (East Molesey: Robert Waldegrave, 1588), EEBO. (USTC 511029).

Marprelate, Martin pseud., *Hay any worke for Cooper: or a briefe pistle directed by waye of an hublication to the reverende byshopps counselling them, if they will needs be barrelled up, for feare of smelling in the nostrels of her Majestie [and] the state, that they would use the advise of reverend Martin, for the providing of their cooper* (Coventry: Robert Waldegrave, 1589). (USTC 511301). Image from EEBO.

Mary I, 'The Stationers' Company Charter' (1557), in Ar. I. xxviii–xxxii.

Mascall, Leonard, *A profitable book declaring dyvers approved remedies, to take out spottes and staines, in silks, velvets, linnnen [sic] and woollen clothes. With divers colours how to die velvets and silks, linnen and woollen, fustian and threade. Also to dresse leather, and to colour felles. How to gylde, grave, sowder and vernishe. And to harden and make softe yron and steele* (London: Thomas Purfoot, and William Ponsonby, 1583), EEBO. (USTC 509808).

Maunsell, Andrew, 'The First Part of the Catalogue of English Printed Books', in *Andrew Maunsell: The Catalogue of English Printed Books (1595)* (London: Gregg Press in association with the Archive Press, 1965a).

Maunsell, Andrew, 'The Seconde Part of the Catalogue of English Printed Books', in *Andrew Maunsell: The Catalogue of English Printed Books (1595)* (London: Gregg Press in association with the Archive Press, 1965b).

Mercurius Britannicus, June 28. Numb. 28. The continuation of our weekely newes, from the 21. of June, unto the 28. of the same (London: for Nathaniel Butter, and Nicholas Bourne, 1625), p. 5, as quoted in Jayne E.E. Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), p. 207. (USTC 3011956).

Middleton, Thomas and William Rowley, *A courtly masque: the device called the world tost at tennis As it hath beene divers times presented to the contentment of many noble and worthy spectators, by the prince his sevants. Invented, and set downe, by Tho: Middleton & William Rowley gent* (London: George Purslowe, sold by Edward Wright, 1620), EEBO. (USTC 3009257).

More, John, *A lively anatomie of death wherein you may see from whence it came, what it is by nature, and what by Christ. Togeather with the power, strength, and sting thereof: as also a preparative against the same. Tending to teach men to lyve, and die well to the Lord* (London: Gabriel Simpson, for William Jones, 1596), EEBO. (USTC 513235).

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Colour Section

FIGURE 0.1 *Total number of entries made in the Stationers' Company Register with a comparison of lost and surviving items, 1557–1640.*


FIGURE 1.2 *Ballads entered in the Stationers' Company Register by category, 1557–1640.*
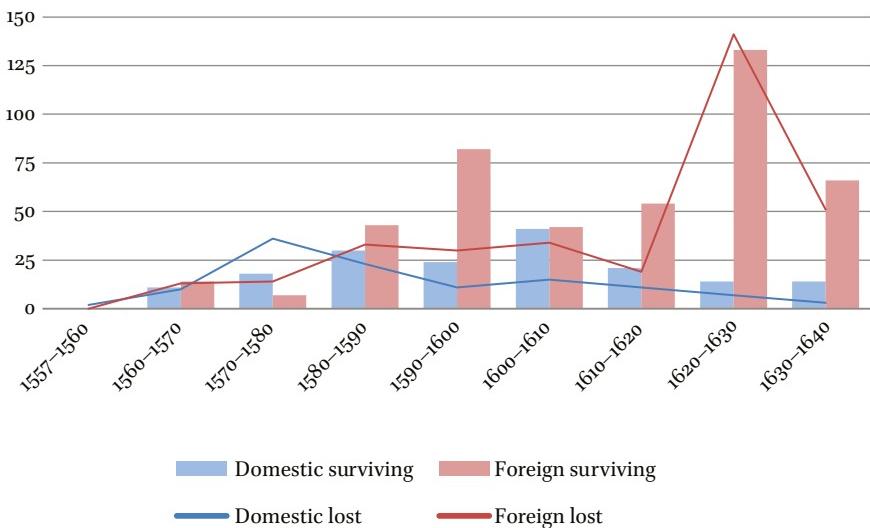
FIGURE 2.1   *Comparison of the loss and survival of domestic and foreign news entered in the Register, 1557–1640.*
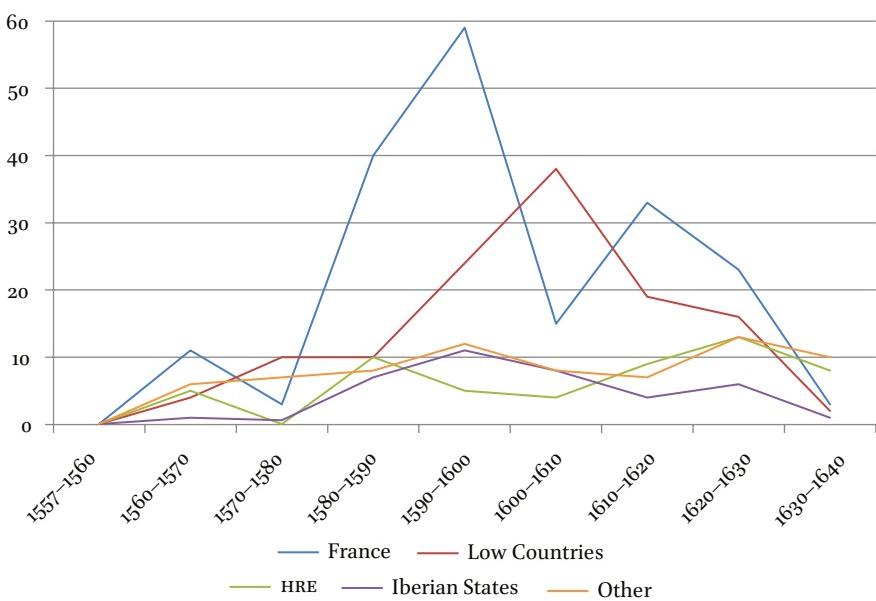

FIGURE 2.2   *Countries mentioned in the news titles entered in the Register (excluding periodic news), 1557–1640.*
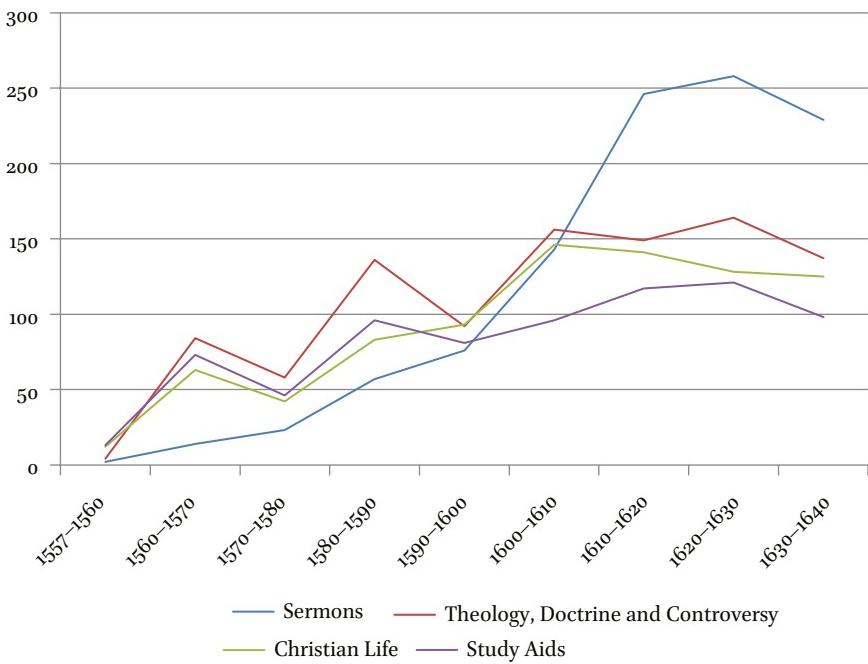
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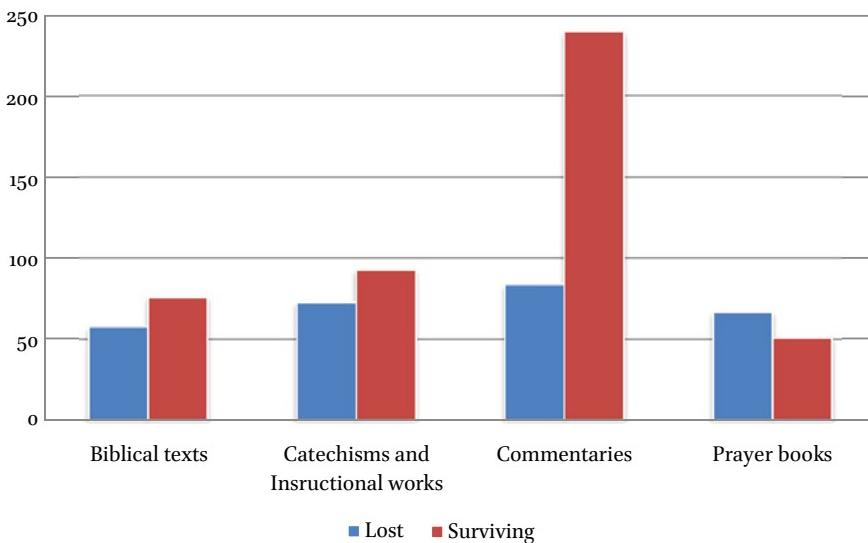
FIGURE 3.2 *Entries of study aids entered in the Register, 1557–1640, and organised by lost and surviving.*
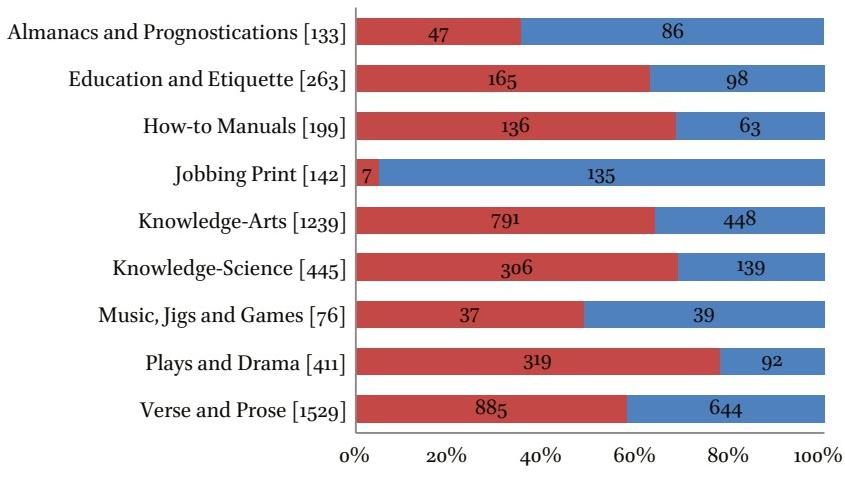
FIGURE 4.1 *Percentage of lost and surviving learning and leisure works entered into the Stationers' Company Register, 1557–1640.*
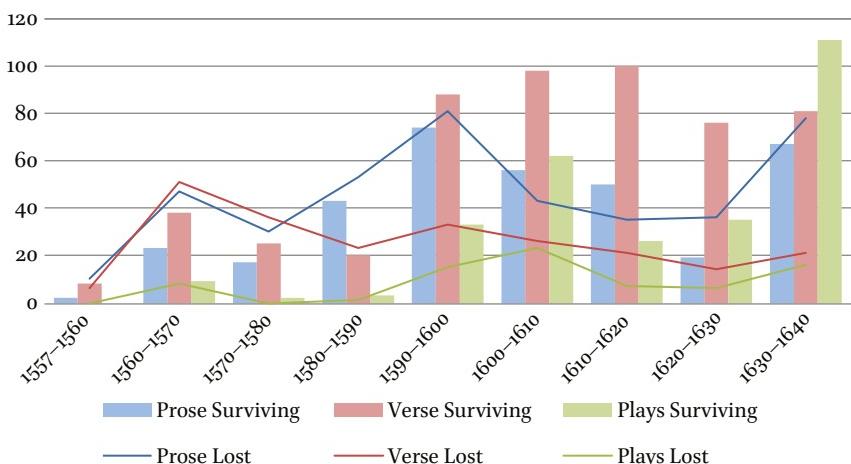
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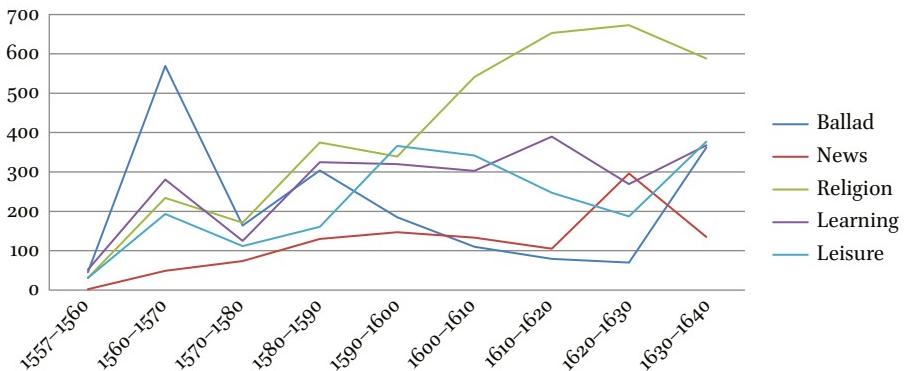
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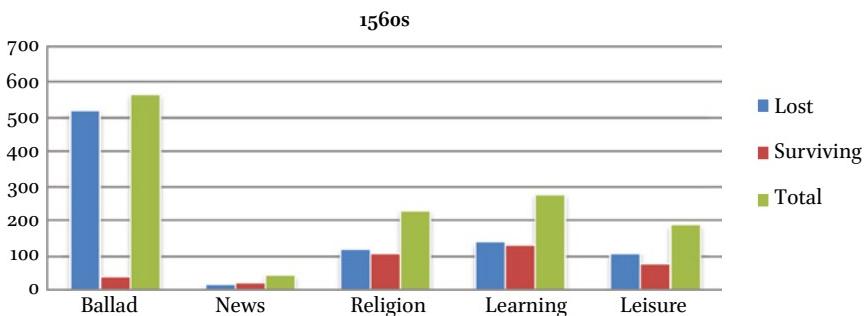
FIGURE 5.2   *Total number of titles entered in the Register in the 1560s, separated by genre.*
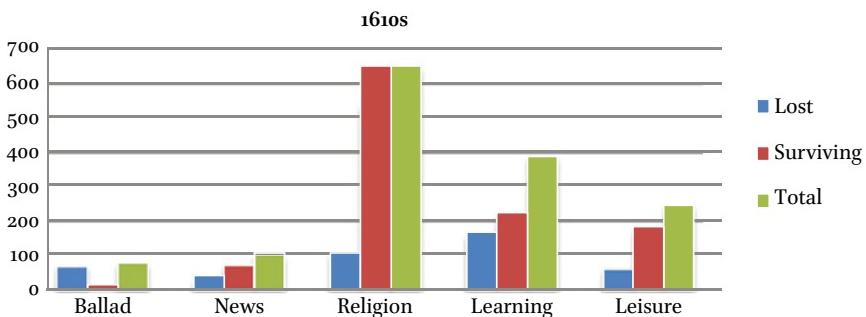
FIGURE 5.3   *Total number of titles entered in the Register in the 1610s, separated by genre.*
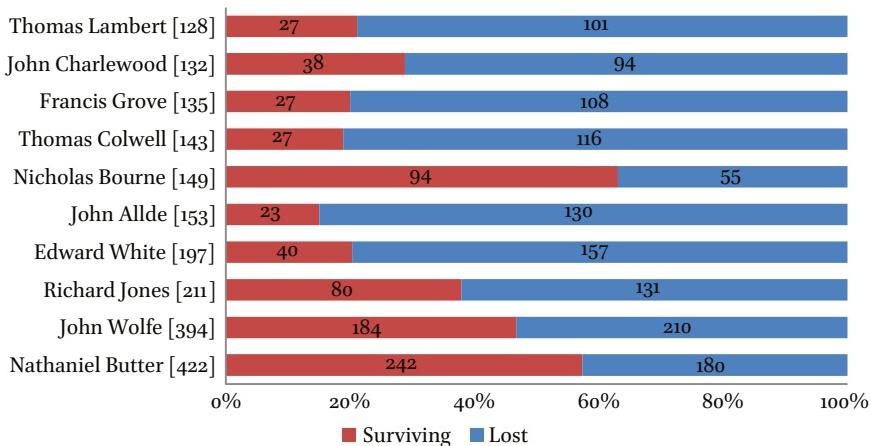
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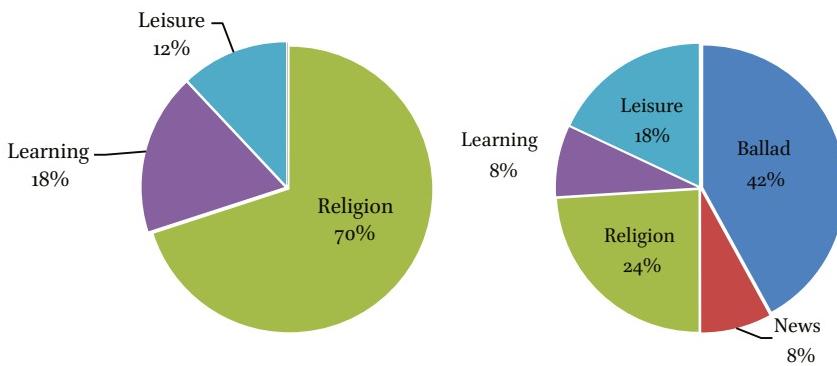

FIGURE 5.5 *Percentage of total number of books entered in the Register by Knight [left] and Stafford [right] by subject, 1557–1640.*

FIGURE 5.6 *Percentage of lost titles in the Register compared to the number of surviving imprints for London in the ESTC, 1557–1640.*